

THE  
OXYRHYNCHUS PAPYRI  
VOLUME LIX

EDITED WITH TRANSLATIONS AND NOTES BY

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Graeco-Roman Memoirs, No. 79

PUBLISHED FOR  
THE BRITISH ACADEMY  
BY THE  
EGYPT EXPLORATION SOCIETY  
3 DOUGHTY MEWS, LONDON WC1N 2PG  
1992

PRINTED IN GREAT BRITAIN  
BY H. CHARLESWORTH & CO LTD, HUDDERSFIELD  
AND PUBLISHED FOR  
THE BRITISH ACADEMY  
BY THE EGYPT EXPLORATION SOCIETY  
(REGISTERED CHARITY NO. 212384)  
3 DOUGHTY MEWS, LONDON WC1N 2PG

ISSN 0306-9222

ISBN 0 85698 116 8

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## PREFACE

The literary part of this volume comprises fragments of earlier Greek poetry, and of New Comedy. **3963-4**, edited by Dr M. L. West, are plausibly assigned to the burlesque *Margites*; **3965**, edited by Parsons, offers remains of elegiac poems by Simonides, notably one which described the campaign of Plataea. Of the seven papyri of comedy, **3967** edited by Dr Margaret Maehler and the rest by Professor Handley, four can be attributed certainly (**3967**) or plausibly to Menander.

In the documentary part, Section III comprises administrative documents of the Roman and Byzantine periods. **3973-3984**, edited by Dr J. E. G. Whitehorne, centre on the strategus: they illustrate his manifold bureaucratic functions, and as usual provide new details for the fasti. **3895-7**, edited by Professor Maehler, give a view of the appointment and functioning of officials in the fifth and sixth centuries.

Section IV, **3988-4008**, consists of private letters of the Roman and Byzantine periods. These were edited by Dr H. G. Ioannidou as a doctoral thesis at University College London under the supervision of Professor Maehler; they have been revised for publication by Rea. As usual, they cover a wide range of day-to-day business. We hear about the sale of non-laying pigeons (**3989**), the making of a doctor's instruments (**4001**), the building of a church (**4003**); a literate young man promises a lady sweetmeats (**3992**), a suspicious husband makes enquiries (**3994**), a friend offers condolences on the death of a wife — and moves straight on to business (**4004**). Commodities mentioned include cotton (**3991**), gold leaf (**3993**), soap (**3996?**) and weaver's combs (**4005**); lexical items of interest include *ἀγγαθον* (**3997**), *καρταλάμιον* (**4006**) and the fish *σιμάριον* (**4008**). Two writers assume that their letters will be read aloud to an addressee (**3996**, **3997**): more evidence, perhaps, on the question of functional literacy.

Rea made the documentary indexes; for the indexing of the literary texts we are indebted to the skill and precision of Juliane Priwitzter. Once again we record our gratitude to our printers, Charlesworth & Co, who have set a difficult text with phenomenal accuracy.

May 1992

P. J. PARSONS  
J. R. REA  
*General Editors*

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#### NUMBERS AND PLATES

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## NOTE ON THE METHOD OF PUBLICATION AND ABBREVIATIONS

The basis of the method is the Leiden system of punctuation, see *CE* 7 (1932) 262–9. It may be summarized as follows:

$a\beta\gamma$	The letters are doubtful, either because of damage or because they are otherwise difficult to read
...	Approximately three letters remain unread by the editor
[ $a\beta\gamma$ ]	The letters are lost, but restored from a parallel or by conjecture
[...]	Approximately three letters are lost
( )	Round brackets indicate the resolution of an abbreviation or a symbol, e.g. ( $\acute{\alpha}\rho\tau\acute{\alpha}\beta\eta$ ) represents the symbol $\text{—}$ , $\epsilon\tau\rho$ ( $\alpha\tau\eta\gamma\acute{o}\varsigma$ ) represents the abbreviation $\epsilon\tau\rho\zeta$
[[ $a\beta\gamma$ ]]	The letters are deleted in the papyrus
$\overset{\cdot}{a}\beta\gamma$	The letters are added above the line
< $a\beta\gamma$ >	The letters are added by the editor
{ $a\beta\gamma$ }	The letters are regarded as mistaken and rejected by the editor

Heavy arabic numerals refer to papyri printed in the volumes of *The Oxyrhynchus Papyri*.

The abbreviations used are in the main identical with those in J. F. Oates *et al.*, *Checklist of Editions of Greek Papyri and Ostraca*, 3rd edition (*BASP* Suppl. No. 4, 1985). It is hoped that any new ones will be self-explanatory.

## I. NEW POETIC TEXTS

**3963.** HOMER, *Margites*

71/3(c)

4.8 × 10.2 cm

Second century

A fragment with remains of twelve verses, written in a formal round hand. The upper margin is preserved to a depth of 3.5 cm. There are some accents and punctuation. In line 2 the iota of  $\omega\iota$  is added above the line.

This and **3964** were provisionally assigned by Lobel to the *Margites*, the burlesque poem supposedly composed by Homer. Metre, dialect, and what can be discerned of the subject matter are consistent with ascription to the *Margites*, and it is not easy to suggest even a theoretical alternative. A fragment of somewhat earlier date, **XXII 2309**, was assigned to the poem on similar grounds, and is included in the edition of the fragments of the poem in my *Iambi et Elegi Graeci*, ii.

*Metre.* Lines 3–4 and 6–9 appear to be the ends of iambic verses, no doubt trimeters. Lines 1–2 might be iambic, but 1, at least, looks much more like a dactylic hexameter, and 2 may well be. Hexameters and iambic trimeters in irregular alternation were characteristic of the *Margites*. Line 5 presents a problem which is discussed below.

*Dialect.* Ionic features are the masc. a-stem genitive in  $-\epsilon\omega$  (3), and contraction of  $\epsilon\omicron$  and  $\epsilon\epsilon\omicron$  to  $\epsilon\upsilon$  (4, 6; if the text is archaic the original spelling was  $\epsilon\omicron$ , and  $\epsilon\upsilon$  represents a modernization).

*Subject matter.* It is not very clear what is going on, but it is a lively narrative (1–2) with a domestic setting (3, 7), involving a woman, perhaps a bride (4, 8). The story of Margites' marriage, we know, formed a part of the poem, perhaps the principal part; see fr. 4 and 4a(a) W. There is direct speech (6), something not hitherto attested for the *Margites* but in no way surprising.

	]ντικ' ανεδραμ[	α]ὐτίκ' ἀνέδραμ[
	]ω'ι' πεφοβημεν[	]ωι πεφοβημέν[
	][[ε]] συνοικέ.εω	] συνοικέτ $\epsilon\omega$
	]ξαλευμενη	ε̅]ξαλευμένη
5	], τον	]. τον
	]τάτ'εμασκοπεύ[	]τά τ' ἐμὰ σκοπεῦ
	], ουςδομους	]. ους δόμους
	]εκαλυμενη	κ]εκαλυμ<μ>ένη
	]φασγανον	]φάσγανον
10	]επι. (.)θε. c[ [	]επι. (.)θε. c[ [
	] [ ]	] [ ]
	]επο[ ] . [	]επο[ ] . [

6 A stronger way of saying *οὐδ' αἰχύνεται*, 'shows no shame at all'. The perfect of *ἐρυθρίω* is quoted by LSJ only from an official letter of 73 BC, PTebt 1. 37, where the flush of anger is perhaps indicated rather than the blush of shame; but Apollodorus com. 13K.-A. has *ἀπυρρυθριακῶς* 'shamelessly'.

7 ὁ ζών 'the survivor' is tentatively read; it implies a contrast with 'the deceased' (see, e.g., M. Sik. 131 f.). In a context involving an *epikleros*, the expression is apt to refer to her late father's next of kin, the man who can claim to marry her (however unsuitably) and so to take control of the estate: see the introductory note.

8-11 If the marginal ink represents a speaker's name correctly placed, *αὐτόν* must somehow be construed as an isolated remark, for which see Ar. *Clouds* 218 and my note on M. *Dysk.* 144. The probability is that the person concerned is the same as the *αὐτός* of 5, in fact the principal subject of the whole scrap of dialogue. With *βάδις' εἶπω* one of those present is dismissed inside; *οὐκ ἀνέχομαι* (9) is picked up by Donax, who may be either associating himself with the idea or deprecating it—probably the latter, in view of the argumentative tone which seems to set in with 12-13. The name Donax is known as a slave-name: in real life from the will of Theophrastus, as given by Diogenes Laertius (5. 55) and in Comedy at M. *Sik.* 385-6, *Dysk.* 959 and T. *Eup.* 772. If as a slave he is rejecting involvement, the line may have been something like *εἰ τοι γυγνάμεν* [*ἀντι δούλων δεσπότης*; the *ἡμᾶς ἀνέχεσθαι ταῦτα* could either be an independent exclamation or be governed by a following verb.

12-13 One might guess that the 'if' clause runs to *εἴχε* and expresses an unreal condition in present time; and there will very likely follow an *a fortiori* argument introduced by *νῦν δέ...* 'as it is'. The oath was not necessarily *νῆ Δία*, but if it had been a more prominent one, such as *νῆ τῶν Ἀπόλλω καὶ θεῶς* the hyphen to clarify the word-division might not have been thought useful. Perhaps *τέταρτον μέτρος* (the dot of ink at the end might be almost anything): the sense might be on the lines of 'if he had a quarter of the estate and the heiress too, by Heaven it would be bad enough, but now he claims it all'.

E. W. HANDLEY

### III. DOCUMENTS OF THE ROMAN AND BYZANTINE PERIODS

#### 3973. REPORT TO A STRATEGUS

9 1B.170/F(b)

27.5 × 22.5 cm

Late first-mid second century

Two columns of a report made to the strategus of the Saite nome, in the Western Delta, by a village scribe, in response to a request from the strategus of the Athribite nome, in the Southern Delta, that he exact payment of certain amounts owing to the account of the Athribite. The details are missing but as the final lines of col. ii mention *φόροι* (24) and contain what appears to be the topographical description of some property (25-6), it seems likely that **3973** was concerned with holders of state land who paid land-rent or taxes in their own nome on land held in another, in this case the Athribite nome. In such cases the taxes were periodically credited to the account of the nome in which the property was actually located, see XLII **3030** introd.

This is the first appearance of a named strategus of the Saite nome, and he may constitute another example of a man who had served as a strategus bringing his official papers back home with him to reuse for his own purposes, see E. G. Turner, *JEA* 38 (1952) 89-90, S. Daris, *Stud. Pap.* 22 (1983) 121-33, esp. 128-9 (and add LI **3602-3605**). **3973** had been made up into a *τόμος συγκολληγέμομος*, as is evident from a prominent join c. 2-3 cm from the left hand margin and from a few traces of the preceding document on the left hand edge opposite lines 2-4. Another join, this time one made by the manufacturer of the roll from which the piece with the report was cut, runs vertically near the centre of the whole fragment. The back of the papyrus bears the exiguous remains, not transcribed, of four entries from an account of money payments, written across the fibres in a different, more cursive, hand, with an annotation to their left in another hand which reads (*δραχμαὶ*) *ρν*, 'dr. 150'.

Apart from the mention of a regnal year possibly numbered 20, or more, in line 13, there is no indication surviving of the date, either in **3973** or in the remains on the back. Nevertheless a date of late first century to mid second is palaeographically suitable for the hands on both front and back; possible years within this period are 116/7+, 135/6+, and 156/7+.

The strategi have been listed in G. Bastianini, J. Whitehorne, *Strategi and Royal Scribes* 58 (Athribite), 108 (Saite).

i

up to 20 letters?      ].[ up to 15 letters? ]ρ.[  
 (vac.)  
 (vac.)

Ἡρᾶ τῷ καὶ Διονυσίῳ στρατηγῷ Σαΐτου  
 παρὰ Ἡρακλείδου κωμογρ(αμμματέως) Θερύθωως καὶ ἄλ(λων).  
 πρὸς ἐπίσταλμα γραφέν σοι ὑπὸ Δομιτίου Ἀπολι-  
 5 ναρίου στρατηγοῦ Ἀθρειβείτου, οὗ ἐστὶν ἀντίγρ(αφον):-  
 Δομίτιος Ἀπολινάριος στρ(ατηγός) Ἀθρειβείτου Ἡρᾶ  
 τῷ καὶ Διονυσίῳ στρ(ατηγῷ) Σαΐτου τῷ φι[λ(τάτω)] χαίρειν.  
 [ c. 15 letters ] . . . . . πρὸς τὰ ἐπ[ι]στα-  
 λέγ[τα]      c. 30 letters

10 κείμενα κεφάλαια. ἴν' οὖν εἰδῆς καὶ τὴν τοῦτων  
 (m. 2<sup>b</sup>) Βησᾶ ἀπαίτησιν ποιησάμενος προσθῆ ὑπὲρ τοῦδε τοῦ  
 νομοῦ ἐμοί τε δηλώσης, ἐπέστειλά σοι. ἐρρώσθ(αι) σε εὔχομαι(αι).  
 (ἔτους) κ[. . .] . . . . . [ . . . ] οἱ διακριταὶ  
 μετέδωκαν

15 ![  
 [  
 [ c. 5 ] . . . [  
 [c. 3].]

ii

c. 15 letters ] . [ . . ] . [  
 (vac.)

20 ὅπως, ἐὰν πράξει ὑποπέπτωσι[  
 καὶ τὰς διδομένας μ. . . εἰ . . . [  
 μὴ πραχθῆναι το[ . . . ] . [  
 μιν. διὰ μὲν οὖν τοῦ βιβλιδίου [  
 φόρων ἀπὸ Θερύθωως . [

25 ἀδεσπότες, πρὸς βορᾶ καὶ λίβα ἱερο. [  
 [  
 . ν[  
 . [  
 . [  
 30 . [

3 κωμογρ, ἄ 5, 6 l. Ἀθρειβείτου 5 αντιγρ 6 στρ 7 στρ, φι[<sup>λ</sup>] 10-11 Interlinear  
 marginal addition perhaps by m. 2 12 ἐρρώσθ, εὔχομαι 13 L 20 l. ὑποπέπτωσι 25 l. βορᾶ

## col. i

'To Heras alias Dionysius, strategus of the Saite nome, from Heracleides, village scribe of Therythis and other (villages). In response to the communication written to you by Domitius Apolinarius, strategus of the Athribite nome, of which this is a copy:-

"Domitius Apolinarius, strategus of the Athribite nome, to Heras alias Dionysius, strategus of the Saite nome, his dearest colleague, greetings... in response to the ... communicated ... aforementioned (?) sums. Therefore, in order that you may know and, having exacted payment of these, may have them credited on behalf of this nome and notify me, I have sent you this written communication. I pray that you are well. Year 20(+?) (month, day)..." ...the examiners have passed on the information...'

## col. ii

'...so that, if they are subject to sale ... and the ... given to ... not have been done (exacted?). Therefore through (in?) the petition ... of land-rents from Therythis ... ownerless (properties), to the north and west (of?) a temple(?) ...'

1 The traces of letters on the uppermost edge of the top margin (of c. 2.5 cm) may be the remnants of column numbers or annotations made in the top margin, rather than the end of another text. The second group, ] . [, is above the intercolumnar space. Both columns start on approximately the same level.

2-4 Exiguous traces on the left hand edge, clearly the final strokes at the ends of lines in the preceding document of the τόμος συγκολλήσιμος. Although insufficient to be transcribed, enough remains to show that it was not written in the same hand as 3973.

2 Heras alias Dionysius is not otherwise known. On the possibility that he was an Oxyrhynchite, see introd.

Σαΐτου. The fifth nome of Lower Egypt, situated in the Western Delta, with its territory mainly in the area between the Canopic and Rosetta branches of the Nile, although Sais itself stood on the eastern bank of the Rosetta branch, see H. Gauthier, *Les nomes* 89, XI 1380 19 n.

3 Θερύθωως, cf. 24, is not otherwise attested.

4-5 Domitius Apolinarius, cf. 6, is not otherwise known.

5 Ἀθρειβείτου (l. Ἀθριβείτου). The tenth nome of Lower Egypt, located in the Southern Delta, cf. A. Calderini, *Dizionario dei nomi geografici s.v.*, H. Gauthier, *Les nomes* 4, 35. The name survives in modern Tell Atrib, see XI 1380 39 n.

9-10 κείμενα κεφάλαια. [προ]κείμενα, [προ]κείμενα or [ὑπο]κείμενα are all likely possibilities.

10-11 Βησᾶ. There is no obvious place for this in the text, nor does the meaning, 'of Besas', make any certain sense in the context, but it could be a clarification of τοῦτων, i.e. these sums were the responsibility of someone called Besas. The writing could well be in a second hand, although the style is similar.

13 After κ[. . .], a reading which seems preferable to β[. . .], only isolated tops of letters are present before the raised horizontal which presumably marks the day number. It seems that the emperor was not named at this point; the month name remains unread.



After Tiberius, who is probably too early for this hand, no emperor reached a twentieth year until Trajan. Year 20 (or 20+) of Trajan (116/7+) is perhaps the most likely; year 20 of Hadrian and Pius, 135/6+ and 156/7+, are also possible.

13-14 οἱ διακριταὶ μετέδωκαν. Cf. esp. SB XIV 11381 ii 4 μεταδεδοθέναι [αὐτῶ]ι [ὕ]πὸ διακριτῶν; also SB V 7741. 9, XVI 12696. 11, 17. On the little that is known about these officials, sometimes called more explicitly διακριταὶ τῶν ἐχθέσεων, 'examiners of arrears', see R. R. Malek, *ZPE* 46 (1982) 215-16. They appear particularly in cases where cooperation between the accounting systems of two strategates is required, as here.

15-18 Traces only.

19 As at the top of col. i, see 1 n., the traces of letters here may represent the remains of something written above the text in its top margin, here c. 1.5 cm wide, not the bottom of another text. These traces are rather lower than those above col. i and the intercolumnium.

If col. ii was the same width as col. i, c. 38 letters, there are at least 12 letters missing at the line ends.

24 φόρον. The context suggests that the term here bears the meaning of land-rents charged on state land, on which see S. L. Wallace, *Taxation* 71-2, XLIV 3180 5 n.

24-5 ἀδεπτόν. Perhaps [φιλοῦς τόπος] ἀδεπτόν.

26-30 Traces only.

J. E. G. WHITEHORNE

### 3974. DECLARATION TO A STRATEGUS

2 1B.105/J(a)

8 × 13 cm

165/6

A declaration by Thonis *major*, *θεαγός* (see 6 n.) of Thoëris, to the royal scribe and acting strategus Dionysius, to the effect that his son and nephew have undergone *epicrisis* and paid the entrance fee (*εἰσκριτικόν*) to the rank of *θεαγός*.

It has long been known that all those who were attached to temples, whatever their rank, were subject, like other privileged classes, to an *epicrisis* to prove their right to their position and that they were required to pay an entrance fee, see W. Otto, *Priester und Tempel* i 213-17, S. L. Wallace, *Taxation* 249-52, E. H. Gilliam, *YCS* 10 (1947) 203-5. Even so, there is no exact parallel for the present text, although the responsibility of the strategus and royal scribe for the supervision of temples at nome level is well documented, see *YCS* 10 (1947) 197, M. Stead, *Proceedings of the XVI International Congress of Papyrology* 416, XII 1435, XLIX 3472, P. Tebt. II 298 introd.

3974 may usefully be compared with XLIX 3470-71, which show what might happen if the entrance fee was not paid on time. In those cases the delay in payment seems to have prompted the query from the office of the *Idios Logos*; in the present text, a failure by the applicant to ensure that the local authorities had noted (17) the payment of the entrance fee might have had more serious consequences, resulting eventually in a challenge by the *Idios Logos* to the boys' hereditary right to the office of *θεαγός* and an attempt to confiscate the offices for sale to someone else, cf. P. Vindob. Boswinkel 1, with P. R. Swarney, *Idios Logos* 57-9.

The back is blank.

Διονυσίω βασιλ(ικῶ) γραμματεῖ διαδεχ(ομένῳ)

καὶ τὰ κατὰ τὴν στρ(ατηγίαν)

παρὰ Θώνιος πρεσβυτέρου

Θώνιος τοῦ Πλουτάρχου μητ(ρὸς)

5 Ταῦσειριος Πετάλου ἀπ' Ὀξυρύγ-

χων πόλεως θεαγοῦ Θοήριδ[ος

θεᾶς μεγίστης Θοηρείου Θενε(πιμού)

καὶ ἐτ[έ]ρου Πασιν[...].ρ.[...]...νν.

τόν τε υἱόν μου Θώνιν μ[ητ(ρὸς)

10 Ταλοβαίτος καὶ τὸν τ[οῦ] μετηλ-

λαχότος μου ὁμ[ο]γονησίου?

ἀδελφοῦ Θώ[νιος] νεωτέρου

υἱόν Θώνιν μητρὸ[ς] . . . . .

ἀμποτέρους προσβεβη[κ(έναι)] τῶ

15 ἐνεστῶτι ἐκτω ἔξει Ἀντωνίου

καὶ Οὐήρου τῶν κυρί[ω]ν Ἀυτοκρατόρων

εἰς (τεσσαρεσκαιδεκαετείς) καὶ ὀφείλειν ἄψ(τοῦς) παραγραφ[ή]ναι

τὸ ὑπέ]ρ τῆς θεαγείας ἰσκριτι[κόν]

[διαγεγραφέναι c. 13 letters ]

1 βασιλ(ικῶ)διαδεχ? 2 στρς 4 μητ 7 θενε) 9 υἱόν 10 ταλοβαίτος  
17 Traces of ink above εἰς, εἰς 18 ἰσκριτικόν; 1. εἰσκριτικόν

<sup>1</sup>To Dionysius royal scribe, administering also the office of the strategus, from Thonis *major* son of Thonis, grandson of Plutarchus, whose mother is Tayseiris daughter of Petalus, from Oxyrhynchus, *theagus* of Thoëris, most great goddess, of the Thoëreum of Thenepmōi and of another one of Pasin ... I declare(?) that both my son Thonis, whose mother is Talobais, and Thonis the son of my deceased full (or uterine or paternal half?) brother Thonis *minor*, whose mother is ..., have both come forward into the category of fourteen-year-olds, in the present sixth year of Antoninus and Verus the lords emperors and that an annotation ought to be made by their names that (they have paid) the entrance fee for the office of *theagus* ...

<sup>1</sup> Dionysius is attested as royal scribe, acting strategus, also in XVIII 2182 (19 April 165) and in 3975, cf. G. Bastianini, J. Whitehorne, *Strategi and Royal Scribes* 93, 143. It seems from the present text that he may have continued to serve as interim strategus until the appointment of Claudius Demetrius alias Hermias, who is first attested in office after 3 June 166 (PSI IX 1033).

<sup>6</sup> *θεαγοῦ*, 'bearer of the gods'. *LSJ* and *Suppl.* should be emended accordingly. For the equivalence of the Greek to the demotic *i(3)j ntr.w*, see W. Clarysse's commentary on this title in P. Lille dem. IV 49. I am grateful to Dr Clarysse for a copy of this reference and for the information that *θεαγών*, rather than a proper name should also be read in P. Strasb. 770 ii.

The evidence for the Egyptian title, first attested in hieroglyphic form in 642/1 BC, and found in its demotic form throughout the Ptolemaic and Roman periods, is fully discussed by J. Quaegebeur, *Mélanges*

A. Gutbub (Montpellier 1984) 161–176. To his conclusion that the theagoi were a religious association whose major role was to convey the corpses or mummies (for ‘the gods’ = ‘the dead’ cf. P. Turner 15, p. 78) of sacred animals from temple to necropolis the following points may be added from the Greek evidence:

i) PSI IX 1039 (216/7 or 267/8; for the date see A. Bülow-Jacobsen, *Actes du XVI<sup>e</sup> Congrès International de Papyrologie* iv 125) confirms that the theagoi constituted a separate order, lower in the hierarchy than priests and pastophori; cf. also the existence of separate declarations of the members of each order (listed in XLIX 3473 introd. and E. Battaglia, *Aegyptus* 64 (1984) 90–99). The view of W. Otto, *Priester und Tempel* i 95 n. 1, followed by C. H. Roberts, *JEA* 20 (1934) 23, that they are the same as the pastophori, is to be rejected.

ii) PSI IX 1039.45, *θεάγυκα*, shows that either sex might hold this office.

iii) ‘Bearer’ is to be understood in a general, and not a specific, sense, for the theagoi employed more than one means of transporting their charges. The pictorial evidence cited by Quaegebeur, op. cit. 175–6 n. 92, shows crocodiles and other sacred animals carried on biers, hauled on sledges and drawn on wheeled funeral carriages, and in P. Lille dem. IV 49 *lj ntr.w* is glossed as *ὀνήλά[της]* while in XLIX 3495 8 etc. a theagos receives payments which may be for boat hire, cf. P. Tebt. II 298. 30–33 n. and P. Ryl. II 196. 13–14 n.

iv) These theagos-payments for what is clearly commercial boat hire show further that, like the pastophori but unlike the priests proper, theagoi were permitted by the state to engage in commercial activities.

7 *Θηρηόιον Θενε(πιμάι)*. For other references to Athena-Thoëris and her cult places in Greek papyri, see now J. Quaegebeur etc., *ZPE* 60 (1985) 224–30, where it is suggested that the cult title (?) *Thenepmōi* should be interpreted as *εἰς-στ-ι-ν-β3-μ3ι*, ‘the daughter of the lion’, rather than *εἰς-ν(ι)-ρ(3)-μω/μ3ι*, ‘she of the water/the island’, as suggested at XLIX 3472 19 n. The title may also be read in Π 331 16 (ed. A. Martin, *CE* 56 (1981) 299–303) at the line end.

8 *Πασω[...]*. *ρ[...]*. *ν. : ρ* seems better than *φ*, which has a much longer descender. It may be possible to read *μηρνώω*, or perhaps *νῶν* at the end of the line, but what I would expect is a verb such as *δηλώ* or *προσφώνω*, neither of which can be read. The sense, however, is clear enough from what follows.

*Πασω[...]*; otherwise unattested. Like *Thenepmōi*, it is uncertain whether this should be taken as a cult title, or as the name of a place where the goddess was worshipped. If the former, perhaps *Πασω[ίκη]*; if the latter, there may be a connection with the Thoëreum of Sintano, or Sintabo (SB V 7634. 9–10, P. Mert. I 26), if this is in fact a place name, see the discussion by C. H. Roberts, *JEA* 20 (1934) 25; read then *Πασω[τάν]ω*, ‘the territory of Sintano’, cf. M. Drew-Bear, *Le nome Hermetopolite* 196, on the meaning of *Πασκώ*. I owe to Dr J. Quaegebeur the suggestion that *πα-* here is perhaps a reduction of *β3-π-* (Coptic ΠΑ), ‘the one of’.

14–17 *προσβεβη[κ(έναι)] ... εἰς (τεσσαρεσκαίδεκαετείς)*. It is clear that this refers to a different examination than that carried out before the *ἀρχιερείς*, on whom see now M. Stead, *Proceedings of the XVI International Congress of Papyrology* 411–18, esp. 413–4, or the *ἀρχιπροφήτης*, see A. Bülow-Jacobsen, *Actes du XVI<sup>e</sup> Congrès International de Papyrologie* iv 124–31, being more akin to the civil epirisis for admission to the metropolitan or gymnasial classes, see E. H. Gilliam, *JCS* 10 (1947) 204, n. 115. The distinction between the two types of examination appears clearly in P. Tebt. II 298 (107/8), in which *stolistae* are examined by the strategus and royal scribe (line 20), whereas priests ‘of the first tribe’ are examined in the presence of the *Idios Logos*, see P. R. Swarney, *Idios Logos* 57–8, and also in XLIX 3470–71 (AD 131), where it is stated that the minors in question *προβάντες εἰς (τεσσαρεσκαίδεκαετείς) ... τὸ ἱερικτὸν διέγραψαν*, but that it is not customary for them to undergo epirisis by the *ἀρχιπροφήτης*.

18 *τὸ ὑπὲρ τῆς θεαγείας*: or *τὸ τῆς ἀγῆτης θεαγείας*.

18–19 For the supplement cf. XLIX 3470–71 17–21, 14–18, quoted above, 14–17 n.

J. E. G. WHITEHORNE

## 3975. SWORN DECLARATION OF A SKIPPER

72/51(a)

6 × 7.5 cm

c. 165–166

The beginning of an undertaking on oath by Clemens, skipper of a private riverboat, to make his craft available for the transport of grain for the state, cf. IX 1197, republished by R. A. Coles, P. J. Sijpesteijn, *CE* 61 (1986) 108–110. It is addressed to Dionysius, royal scribe and acting strategus, who has appeared also in this capacity in XVIII 2182 (19 April 165) and 3974 of 165/6.

The back is blank.

Διονυσίῳ βασιλ(ικῶ) γραμματεῖ διαδεχ(ομένῳ) καὶ  
τὰ κατὰ τὴν στρ(ατηγίαν) διὰ Σαρα(πίωνος) γε-  
γυμν(ασιραρχηκότος) δι[α]δόχ(ου) τῆς στρ(ατηγίας).  
Κλήμηρς Ἑρακ[λ]εῖδου τοῦ Κλή-  
μηντος μητρὸς Τααρθώνιος  
ἀπὸ κόμηρς Χινώθμειω  
τοῦ Ἑρακλεοπολείτου νομοῦ  
καταγεωμόμενος ἐν Cεσφθα  
τοῦ Ὁξυρυγχείτου, κυβερνή-  
της ἰδίας κἀ[φ]ηρς c. 7 letters  
[ c. 20–25 letters ]  
ὄμ[νύω] Αὐτοκράτο]ρα Καίσαρα  
Μάρκον Αὐρήλιον] Ἄντωνε[ῖνον]  
καὶ Αὐτοκράτορα Κα]ίσαρα

1 βασιλγρδιαδεχ 2 στρς, σαρα) 2–3 γεγυμνς 3 δι[α]δοχ, στρς 6 l. Χινώθμειω  
7 l. Ἑρακλεοπολείτου 8 l. καταγεωμόμενος 9 l. Ὁξυρυγχείτου 10 ἰδίας 13 l. Ἄντωνόνος

To Dionysius, royal scribe administering also the office of the strategus, through Sarapion, ex-gymnasiarch and deputy in the strategiate. I, Clemens, son of Heracleides, grandson of Clemens, whose mother is Taharthonis, from the village of Choenothis in the Heracleopolite nome, residing in Sesphtha in the Oxyrhynchite nome, skipper of a private boat ... swear by Emperor Caesar Marcus Aurelius Antoninus and Imperator Caesar (Lucius Aurelius Verus, the Augusti) ...

1 The earliest and the latest dates possible for Dionysius as royal scribe are March/April 159, when ... alias Theon was in office (P. Laur. III 63), and c. 169–71, when Heracleides was royal scribe and acting-strategus (XXXI 2563 18–19; on the date see J. D. Thomas, *Epistologos* ii 189, 201). Heracleides is also attested on 13 November 170 (XVII 2134 1, where his name fits the lacuna at the beginning of the line). However, as Dionysius has already occurred as acting-strategus on 19 April 165 (XVIII 2182: not 166 as ed. *pr.*) and in 3974 (165/6) and a full strategus, Claudius Demetrius alias Hermias, is known from 3 June 166 (PSI IX 1033. 12–13), it seems likely that 3975 should also be dated to c. 165–166, cf. G. Bastianini, J. Whitehorne, *Strategi and Royal Scribes* 93, 143.

2-3 *Σαρα(πίανος) γυμνα(σιαρχηκότος)*. Gymnasiarchs of this name from this period known to P. J. Sijpesteijn, *Nouvelle Liste des Gymnasiarques* 14-15 occur in P. Mert. I 18, 7-14 (ex-gymnasiarch 161) and XLIX 3492 14 (gymnasiarch 161-9). The name is so common that all three may be different.

3 *δι[α]δοχ(ου)*. The use of the phrase *διὰ ... διαδόχου* usually indicates that the official in question is only temporarily absent and has delegated his authority only for that period, see M. H. Eliassen-de Kat, *Actes du XVe Congrès International de Papyrologie* iv 119-120.

The addition of *τῆς στρατηγίας* here indicates that Sarapion is temporarily replacing Dionysius only in his role of acting-strategus, not in his capacity as royal scribe, cf. the form of expression used in BCU XIII 2238. 2-7, where strategus and royal scribe are each represented by a different deity.

6 *Χρονόθρεως*. Read probably *Χρονόθρεως*, see LV 3805 91 n. On the geographical relationship of Scaphia in the Lower Toparchy to the Heracleopolite nome see XII 1416 13 n., LV 3805 91 n. and LVIII 3957 introd. and 6 n.

10 *ἰδιὰς*. For its meaning, 'private', in this context, = *ἰδιωτικός* as opposed to *δημόσιος*, see A. J. M. Meyer-Termecr, *Die Haftung der Schiffer* 8-9.

10-11 These lines possibly contained a description of the boat.

12-14 This wording of the oath formula is not recorded in E. Seidl, *Der Eid* i 13, but it follows a normal pattern. It seems that, although *Ἀυτοκράτορα Καίσαρα* was repeated for each, the title of Augustus was postponed to the end, where it would have been given in the plural, *Κεβαστούς*, to apply to both Marcus and Verus.

J. E. G. WHITEHORNE

### 3976. OATH OF OFFICE

31 4B.9/K(1-3)b

10 x 6.5 cm

242/3

A version of the first part of the customary oath taken by those about to undertake service as liturgists; for parallels see N. Lewis, *The Compulsory Services* 121 (add P. Oxy. Hels. 20 i, P. Harris II 193 and 204), and for discussion E. Seidl, *Der Eid* i 76-80.

The writer gave up in the course of writing the first standard clause of the oath, perhaps because he realized at that stage that he had bungled the address by putting the nominative instead of the dative and had omitted to name the liturgy in question, which we should expect to have found mentioned in lines 5 or 6. If this is so, then the trimming of the bottom edge, which is close to the last line, probably took place at that time. Alternatively, it may have been a writing exercise, cf. MPER XV (=H. Harrauer, P. J. Sijpesteijn, *Neue Texte aus dem antiken Unterricht*) 10-11. In which case the scrap was probably trimmed from some other document.

A sheet join running vertically c. 2.5 cm from the right edge shows that this side was the front of the roll from which the piece came. The join overlaps from right to left, so that the piece is upside down in the sense that if the roll had been used for an extended text, it would have been placed so that the joins overlapped from left to right and so offered less resistance to the movement of the pen.

On the back, written across the fibres, from top to bottom in relation to the draft on the front, are: (1) an address in the same hand as the text on the front, and (2) part of a double name in a second hand. Upside down in relation to these two and therefore from bottom to top in relation to the draft on the front are (3) three lines of

writing, all apparently in different hands, containing magical words. They too are perhaps best taken as practice rather than a complete magical formula, see note. J. R. Rea suggests that perhaps there was a group of clerks whiling away time in an office between jobs by writing these jottings.

Ἀυρήλιος Ἀμμώνιος ὁ καὶ Ἀπ[ολλώνιος  
στρατηγὸς Ὀξ(υρνηχίτου) παρὰ Μάρκου Ἀυρηλίου Θε-  
ωνος Δημητρίου μητρὸς Διονυσίας  
τῆς καὶ Θεάσιος ἀπὸ τῆς αὐτῆς πόλεως.  
εἰδοθεὶς ὑπὸ τοῦ νυγί τῆς πόλεως ἀμφο-  
δωγραμμάτωσ τοῦ ἐνεστῶτος σ (ἔτους) ὀμνῶ  
τὴν Μάρκου Ἄντωνίου Γορδιανοῦ Καίσαρος  
τοῦ κυρίου τύχην εὐθέως ἀντιλήμ-  
ψαθαι . . . (vac.)

Back, across the fibres, from top to bottom in relation to the writing on the front:

10 (m. 1) Ἀυρηλίω Ἀπο[λ]λωνίω στρατηγῶ  
Ὀξ(υρνηχίτου) παρὰ Μάρκου Ἀυρηλίου  
(m. 2) (vac.) ὁ καὶ Θεῶν μητρὸς (vac.)

Back, upside down in relation to 10-12

(m. 3) Ἄβραχυτ( )  
(m. 4) Ἄβραξαταχυτ( )  
15 (m. 5) Ἄβρασαταχυτ( )

1-2 1. Ἀυρηλίω Ἀμμωνίω τῶ καὶ Ἀπολλωνίω στρατηγῶ 2 οξ' 5-6 1. ἀμφοδογραμμάτωσ  
6 σ' 9 1. ἀντιλήμψεσθαι 10 στρς 11 οξ' 13 ἀβραχυτ' 14 ἀβραξαταχυτ' 15 ἀβρασαταχυτ'

'Aurelius Ammonius alias Apollonius, strategus of the Oxyrhynchite nome, from Marcus Aurelius Theon son of Demetrius, whose mother is Dionysia alias Thais, from the same city. Having been nominated by the current amphodogrameus of the city for the present sixth year, I swear by the *genius* of Marcus Antonius Gordianus Caesar the lord that I shall immediately undertake (vac.)'

Back:

"To Aurelius Apollonius, strategus of the Oxyrhynchite, from Marcus Aurelius ..."

(2nd hand) (vac.) alias Theon, whose mother is (vac.)

(3rd hand) 'Abrachyt( )'

(4th hand) 'Abraxatachyt( )'

(5th hand) 'Abrasatachyt( )'

1 The writing of the addressee's name in the nominative rather than dative is only one of several indications that **3976** is a draft or an exercise. Others are (1) the use of τῆς αὐτῆς πόλεως in line 4 when only the nome has been mentioned; (2) the omission of the name of the liturgy in line 5 or 6; and (3) the abrupt ending of the text after ἀντιλήψασθαι, where the colour of the ink suggests that the writer's pen had run dry.

6 Year 6 = 242/3, the latest date for Aurelius Ammonius alias Apollonius as strategus. He is elsewhere attested in P. Coll. Youtie I 65 = XLVII **3365** (22 May 241), P. Mich. XIV 675 (20 July 241), and **3977** (undated), cf. G. Bastianini, J. Whitehorne, *Strategi and Royal Scribes* 99. The nature of **3976** as a practice piece means that the present date may not be completely reliable.

13–15 Upside down in relation to the other two entries on the back. Like the front, this is a draft or exercise rather than a complete magical formula. In each case the first part of the line recalls the common magical name Ἀβρακάξ; this occurs in several variants, as here, in the magical papyri and upon amulets, see K. Preisendanz, PGM iii Register vi s.v.; H. Leclercq, *Dictionnaire d'archéologie et de liturgie* I. i s.v. Abrasax; H. D. Betz, *The Greek Magical Papyri in Translation* 331 (with further bibliography). The name is often found invoked in the aggressive magic of binding spells (κάταχοι) or love philtres (δύωγα), so that, if the line is to be broken up, the second element might be construed as the instruction ταχύ, ταχύ, common in spells of this type. Alternatively the mark of abbreviation after the final tau might be expanded as ταχὺ τέλεσον, cf. PGM ii XIII. 871.

J. E. G. WHITEHORNE

**3977. ADDRESS TO A STRATEGUS**

72/49(c)

7 × 6.5 cm

c. 241–243

An undated fragment from the beginning of another document addressed to the strategus Aurelius Ammonius alias Apollonius, cf. **3976**. A join very close to the right edge is of an amateur type which indicates that this item formed part of a τόμος συγκολλήσιμος. Too little remains of the letters of the last line to make a guess at the nature of the original text. The back is blank.

Ἀὐρηλίω Ἀμμωνίῳ  
τῷ καὶ Ἀπολλωνίῳ  
στρατηγῷ Ὀξ(υρρυχίτου)  
παρὰ Ἀὐρηλίου Ζύρου

5 ἀπελευθέρου (vac.)  
c. 12 letters ] . . . [

3 στρῶξ'

"To Aurelius Ammonius alias Apollonius, strategus of the Oxyrhynchite nome, from Aurelius Syrus, freedman, ..."

1–2 Aurelius Ammonius alias Apollonius is attested in 241 (after 22 May: P. Coll. Youtie I 65 = XLVII **3365**) and, if the document is reliable, in 242/3, see **3976** introd. The *terminus post quem* for his tenure is 25 January 239, when Flavius Harpocration was still in office (XLIH **3133**), the *terminus ante* possibly 244/5, when the strategus may have been Chaeremon: VI **970** descr. verso 1, although the address to Chaeremon seems unconnected with the text on the recto which bears the date. Otherwise a firm *terminus ante* is 28 January 245, when Aurelius Dius alias Pertinax is first known in office, see G. Bastianini, J. Whitehorne, *Strategi and Royal Scribes* 99, add LVIII **3925** and 1 n.

J. E. G. WHITEHORNE

**3978. PETITION TO A STRATEGUS**

16 2B.45/E(b)

6 × 14 cm

249/50

A petition to the strategus to notify him of fire damage connected with a house in the village of Seryphis used for weaving. Other reports related to fire damage are BGU IV 1201 (AD 2) and XLI **2997** (214). On this sort of petition, which might be more properly described as a report, see especially M. *Gdz.* 32–6, cf. LVIII **3916** introd.; usually they ask for the report to remain on the record, obviously with a view to legal proceedings in the future. In this case no allusion is made to that possibility.

Of more interest perhaps is the fact that **3978** provides a date for the strategiate of Aurelius Protarchus alias Heron, and therefore also for the undated P. Turner 41, in which he has already appeared, see 1 n.

The back is blank.

Ἀὐρηλίῳ Πρωτάρχῳ τῷ  
καὶ Ἡρωνίῳ στρατηγῷ Ὀξ(υρρυχίτου)  
παρὰ Ἀὐρηλίου Θεώνος  
τοῦ κ]αὶ Μουνατίου βουλευ-  
τοῦ τ]ῆς Ὀξυρρυχειῶν πόλε-  
5 ως κ]αὶ Δημητρίου Θεώνος  
ἀπὸ τῆς α]ὐτῆς πόλεως. τῇ δι-  
ελθούσῃ] λ' σπυθῆρ ἀπὸ  
c. 5 ]ης πλησίον ἧ' ε' ἔχο-

10 μεν εἰς] ὑφήν λεντίω(ν)  
 c. 8 ] ὧν ἔχομεν  
 c. 6 ] . . . . . [ . . ] . ρα  
 . . . λνο]καλάμης, ἐν  
 ἢ ἔχο]μεν ἐν μισθώσει  
 15 ἐν κ]ώμη Σερύφει οἰκί-  
 α, τα]ύτην ὑφήψεν. αὐ-  
 τ]ὸ τοῦτο μαρτυρόμε-  
 νοι ἐπιδίδομεν τὰ βιβλί-  
 δι]α. (ἔτους) α Αὐτοκράτορος  
 20 Κᾶ[ι]σαρος Γαῖου Μεσσίου  
 Κουῖντο]ν Τ[ραιανοῦ Δεκίου]ν

2 τρσοξ' 5 I. Ὀξυρυγχιτῶν 8 λ 9 εχο- (filler stroke) 10 λεντίω 19 Λα'

<sup>1</sup>To Aurelius Protarchus alias Heron, strategus of the Oxyrhynchite nome, from the Aurelii Theon alias Munatius, councillor of the city of the Oxyrhynchites, and Demetrius son of Theon from the same city. On the past 30th (of last month) a spark from (a furnace?) near (a storeroom?) of . . . (bundles?) of flax, which we have for the weaving of linens in a house which we hold on lease in the village of Seryphis, set fire to this. Bearing witness of this we submit the petition. Year 1 of Emperor Caesar Gaius Messius Quintus Traianus Decius . . .

<sup>1-2</sup> *Ἀρηλίω Πρωτάρχῳ τῷ καὶ Ἑρωῖν*. Otherwise known only from the undated P. Turner 41, cf. G. Bastianini, J. Whitehorne, *Strategi and Royal Scribes* 99. His term may now be dated between 247/8, when Aurelius Philoxenus was still strategus (XVII 2123), and August 251, when an acting-strategus ]oc, perhaps to be identified with *Σάρος* of I 62 = W. Chr. 278, is found in LI 3610.

<sup>3-4</sup> *Θέωνος* [τοῦ κ]αὶ *Μουνατίου*. As the name Munatius is so unusual, this is likely to be the same man as Aurelius Munatius, prytanis in 265/6 (XXXI 2569 1), who had by then dropped his original Greek name.

<sup>9</sup> ]ης. Eta is broken but sure. Perhaps *τέφρ]ης*, 'ashes', or *μαρῶ]ης*, 'embers', although neither word has occurred to date in the papyri. A by-form *καμίνη*, from *ἡ κάμνος*, 'oven, furnace', appears once in P. Lond. III 994. 11 (p. 259) of AD 517, cf. F. T. Gignac, *Grammar* ii 40. A spark from a neighbouring furnace, restoring *καμ(ε)ῶ]ης*, would make good sense here, but it must remain rather a remote possibility.

<sup>11-16</sup> The gap in 11 must have held a noun to agree with *ης* in 9, perhaps *ἀποθήκης*, cf. G. Husson, *OIKIA* 41, a room or building used for storage. The substance stored there was flax (*λνο]καλάμης*, 13), ultimately destined for the weaving of linens (10). The flax seems to have been measured or contained in units which were the antecedent of *ὧν* in 11, perhaps bundles *δέσμαι*, *δέματα*, although none of the traces in 12 seem to suit these words. Finally the storeroom seems to have been in a house leased by the presenters of the document (13-16). In 16 *τα]ύτην* or *α]ύτην* is ambiguous. Was the house set on fire or only the flax?

<sup>12</sup> ] . . . . . [ . . ] . ρα . . . Some of these traces are on the upper of the two fragments and some on the lower. They seem to belong to one line, but this is not entirely certain.

<sup>19</sup> The earliest known papyrological date from year 1 of Decius remains September/October 249 in SB I 4651 (corr. BL V 93); for the date of his accession see X. Lorient in *Aufstieg und Niedergang der römischen Welt* II. 2 788-97, and for a discussion of the papyrological evidence LI 3608-10 introd. Lacking its day and month date, 3978 unfortunately has nothing to add.

J. E. G. WHITEHORNE

## 3979. BUSINESS LETTER

31 4B.9/K(1-3)a

10 × 18 cm

26 September 266 (or 25 March 267?)

A business letter which also serves as a note of credit for the transfer of funds. For the format cf. BGU IV 1064 (with the discussion of F. Preisigke, *Girowesen im griechischen Aegypten* 204-5) and SB XIV 12094; XLIII 3146, which may also be an *ἐπιθήκη*, see there 8 n., differs in being written in the form of a receipt which was then cancelled, not as an order to pay like the other examples.

The text offers two *addenda lexicis* (lines 6 and 15), of which the second, connected with the weaving trade, remains unexplained. There is a sheet join 3.5 to 4 cm from the left hand edge. The back is blank.

Κωνσταντῆς Λεωνίδη τῷ

υἱῷ πολλὰ χαίρειν.

καλῶς ποιήσεις μεταβαλλόμενος

παρὰ σοὶ ἐν Ὀξυρυγχίτῃ Ἀρη-

λίῳ Ἑρακλείδῃ υἱῷ Κεφάλω-

νος ὀρνιθάτος συνλαυ-

ρείτῃ Λεωνίδου τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ

ἡμῶν ἀργυρίου Σεβαστοῦ

νομίσματος δραχμὰς ἑνα-

κοσίας, ἀνθ' οὗ ἔσχον τὰς ἵσας

πλήρης δραχμὰς ἑνακοσίας

ἐνθάδε ἐν κώμῃ Σέφθα, ἀλλ' οὐ

μὴ αὐτὸν κατάσχεσθαι. σημείου

χάριν ὅτε ἐνεβαλόμην

σοὶ λινὰ σέμεστα τριακόσια

ὅτε ἐνέβησ μετὰ Ἀλεξάν-

δρου τοῦ ὀθονιακοῦ. ἡ ἐπιθή-

κη κυρία καὶ ἐπερωτηθεῖς

ὁμολόγησα.

(ἔτους) ιδ' τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν Γ[αλλι-

νου Σεβαστοῦ] Θῶθ κθ.

4 ὀξυρυ' χεῖτη: 1. Ὀξυρυγχίτη  
 19 I. ὁμολόγησα

6 I. συλλαυρίτη

9, 11 I. ἑνακοσίας

10 ἵσας

14 I. ὅτε

'Simpansneus to Leonides his/her (?) son, many greetings. Please pay over at your place in the Oxyrhynchite to Aurelius Heraclides, son of Cephalon the poulturer, who lives in the same street as our brother Leonides, nine hundred drachmas of money of imperial coinage, in lieu of which I have received the equivalent amount in full of nine hundred drachmas here in the village of Sēphtha, but do not detain him. As proof (that this instruction comes from Simpansneus): I loaded for you three hundred linen *semesta* when you embarked with Alexander the linen-dealer. The note of credit is binding and having been formally questioned I have assented.'

'Year 14 of our lord Gallienus Augustus, Thoth 29'.

1 *Συμψαννεός*. Not listed by F. Preisigke, *Namenbuch*, or D. Foraboschi, *Onomasticon*, but regularly formed from *Ψαννεός*, plus the prefix *Συ-*. Cf. the by-form *Σεψαννεός*. We rather expect the prefix to be feminine, derived from an Egyptian expression meaning 'daughter of', but below in 18 we seem to have *ἐπερωτηθείς* masculine, rather than *-θείς*[c]a feminine, and it may well be that this name is masculine, cf. J. Quaegebeur, *CE* 56 (1981) 350–9, cf. J. Bingen, *CE* 63 (1988) 168 and n. 2.

3–4 *μεταβαλλόμενος παρὰ σοί*. It is clear now that this should also be read in the parallel BGU IV 1064. 3–4, in place of *με[τ]αβαλλών τ[ῶ] παρὰ σοί*.

6 *ἐνλαυρίτη* (l. *ἐνλαυρίτη*). *Addendum lexicis*. The word has occurred before in P. Ryl. IV 606. 37 (late third century), where the editors took it as an adjective deriving from a place name and capitalized it. The wording of this text, however, makes it clear that the meaning must be 'living in the same *λαύρα*, near neighbour'.

7 *ἀδελφοῦ*. Like *νῶν* in line 2, the term is probably conventional, cf. XLVIII 3396 introd.

11 *πλήρης*. The indeclinable form 'in full', see F. Preisigke, *Fachwörter s.v.*, H. C. Youtie, *Scriptumculae Posteriores* ii 653, rather than a miswriting of acc. pl. *πλήρεις*.

13–14 *σημεῖον γάρου*. For the practice of authenticating a letter by relating as 'proof' a personal detail known only to the correspondents see H. C. Youtie, *Scriptumculae* ii 963–75, J. R. Rea, *ZPE* 14 (1974) 14, 21 (1976) 116 (with list of parallels), 26 (1977) 230; add P. Gen. inv. 72. 3 (G. Bouvier, C. Wehrli, *Anagnensis* 1 (1981) 173), R. Salomons, *Miscellanea Papyrologica* (Pap. Flor. VII) 339. For *nota* used in a similar way in Latin letters of recommendation see H. C. Cotton, *AJP* 106 (1985) 332 and n. 16; for a possible use of *signum* in the same sense see S. Daris, *ZPE* 85 (1991) 275.

15 *λινά κέμετρα*. Better taken as two words rather than a compound, where *λινω-* would be expected, although it is not clear whether the accentuation should be *λινά* or *λίνα*.

*κέμετρα*. *Addendum lexicis*. The term can be related to none of those discussed by E. Wipszycka, *L'Industrie textile dans l'Égypte romaine*, T. Reil, *Beiträge zur Kenntnis des Gewerbes*, or R. Forbes, *Studies in Ancient Technology* iv 192 ff. In view of the large number involved, we seem to have either a unit of measure or the name of an item of linen made for a particular purpose. Rea has suggested that this may be Latin *semis*, gen. *semissis*, and so mean 'half-units'. For the phonetic changes see F. T. Gignac, *Grammar* i 247, 255 and 66, but it should be noted that *ε* for *e* and *-cr-* for *-cc-* are by no means common. The Diocletianic *Edictum de Pretiis* quotes the majority of linen items by the complete web, *ιέρτα*, *tela*, see section 26, ed. M. Giacchero. The other terms of measure commonly used are *περτάλακον* (= *quaternio*: *Edictum*, loc. cit.), *διδάκον*, and *πεντάλακον*, see LI 3626 16–17 n. It is obviously difficult to relate *κέμετρα* to any of these.

18 *ἐπερωτηθείς*. The final long horizontal is at a high level which suggests that it is the cap of sigma rather than the tail of the alpha which would suit *-θείς*[c]a, cf. 1 n. on the form of the writer's name.

20–21 A slight trace before the omega of the month name suits the ligature of theta for Thoth rather than part of the nu of Phamenoth: nu is not ligatured to the following letter in this hand, although the latter (= 25 March 267) cannot be entirely excluded.

The titulature is restored as the most common short version, see P. Bureth, *Les titulatures* 121. This seems a little cramped for space, but only one example, P. Strasb. 132. 15, of the omission of *Σεβαστός* is recorded by Bureth. If we adopt that, even dividing *Γ[α]λ-ληνοῦ*, which is more comfortable, there would certainly be room for *Φαμε[ρ]νόθ*, but the trace, as already explained, is against it.

J. E. G. WHITEHORNE

## 3980. INSTRUCTIONS TO DECAPROTI

7 1B.1/X(c)

13 × 12 cm

300-mid 302

Instructions from the strategus Aurelius Alexander (?), who is new, see 1 n., to the decaproti of part of the Lower toparchy to see to the loading of grain onto one of the state grain ships. The back is blank.

A *terminus ante quem* for the date of 3980 is provided by the appearance of decaproti since that office seems to have been abolished between May and July 302, see J. D. Thomas, *BASP* 11 (1974) 60–68. The *terminus post quem* is given by the presence in line 7 of Valerius Euethius as *rationalis*. His predecessor Pomponius Domnus was still in office on 1 March 300 (P. Panop. Beatty 2. 270). As Euethius himself is otherwise first attested in office on 23 September 302 in P. Cornell 20. 5 etc. and 20(a). 7, 27, it follows that 3980 is now the earliest reference to him as *rationalis*. Note also that his latest possible date in office is now 27 January 304 (or 26 January 305), when his successor ... ius Serapodorus appears in P. Lond. inv. 1260. 4 (text in P. Panop. Beatty pp. 153–6), see CPR V 6. 7 and 10–11 nn. For other references to his tenure see A. H. M. Jones etc., *Prosopography of the Later Roman Empire* i s.v., J. Lallemand, *L'Administration civile* 258.

The organisation of the state corn-transport has been much discussed (note especially M. Rostowzew, *APF* 3 (1906) 212–24, O. Osl. 17–21 nn., E. Börner, *Der Staatliche Korntransport*, N. Hohlwein, *Et. Pap.* 4 (1938) 33–102, J. Schwartz, *BIFAO* 47 (1948) 179 ff.). The responsibility of the decaproti, and earlier (and later) the sitologi, for the quality and quantity of the grain shipped has also been recognized, cf. IV 708 = W. Chr. 432, XLII 3049 B 18 n., SB XII 11082. Yet 3980 appears to be the first example of a directive of this kind from the strategus to the decaproti, although there are examples of the preceding and subsequent steps taken by the state in its transport of different commodities for the *annona militaris* at this time, viz. directives from higher authorities to the strategus to have different cargoes loaded and report back (P. Panop. Beatty 2. 114–116), and reports from the strategus detailing cargoes which had been despatched in response to such orders (P. Panop. Beatty 1. 120–127 = 160–165, L 3573).

Αὐρήλιος Ἀλ[ε]ξ[ανδρ]οῦ γει[όμενος] ὑπομημη(ατογράφος)  
στρατηγός (vac.) Ὀξυρυγχίτου  
Αὐρηλί[ο]υ Ἀλεξάνδρου καὶ στρατονίκου καὶ τοῖς  
κοινωνοῖς, δεκαπρότοις μερῶν κάτω το(παρχίας)  
τοῖς φιλτάτοι[ς] (vac.) χαίρειν.

5

ἀκολούθως τρις γραφεῖσι ὑπὸ τοῦ κυρίου μου  
 διασημοτ[άτου] καθολικοῦ Οὐαλερίου Εὐθηθίου  
 ἐμβάλεσθε εἰς πλ[οῖ]ον δημόσιον ᾧ πα-  
 ράσημον Παναγνίνου ἀγωγῆς (ἀρταβῶν) Ἐφ  
 10 ὑπ[ὸ] Ὁ[γ]ωρατια[ν]ὸν ναύκληρον πυροῦ  
 καθαρωτάτου [καὶ] ἐκτὸς πάσης φαυλότητος  
 τυγχάνοντ[ος] μέτρῳ] δημόσιῳ μετρῆσι  
 τῇ κ[ελευθεσίῃ] ἀρ[τάβας]  
 χιλεί[ας c. 12 letters -κο]ντα ἐξ  
 15 [ c. 13 letters καὶ ὑπέρ] ἑκατ[ο]στῶν  
 [ c. 20 letters ] (ἀρτάβαι) Ἀλ

1 γενησιπομηστῶν 4 το) 6 ὑπο 9 10 ὑπο 12 l. μετρήσει 14 l. χιλίας  
 16

<sup>1</sup> Aurelius Alexander(?), ex-hypomnematographus, strategus of the Oxyrhynchite nome, to the Aurelii Alexander and Stratoniceus and associates, decaproti of parts of the Lower toparchy, his dearest colleagues, greetings.

<sup>2</sup> In accordance with the written instructions given by my lord the most perfect *rationalis* Valerius Euthius, have loaded on the public boat whose emblem is Panatinous, of 2,500 artabas capacity, under the command of Honoratianus, shipper, one thousand ... hundred and ... ty-six artabas of purest wheat, free from all badness, by the public measure, according to the prescribed measurement ... (and for) ... per cent ... (total) 1900 artabas ...

<sup>1</sup> Αλ[ε]ξ[ανδρο]ς. Clear remnants of the tail of xi. Otherwise the first doubtful letter might be read as part of mu or pi. Not otherwise attested, Aurelius Alexander(?) must have been the immediate successor in the strategate to Aurelius Zenagenes (latest date 300: XLVI 3301) and the predecessor of Aurelius Horion (earliest date 24 December 303: P. Wisc. II 61. 3), see G. Bastianini, J. Whitehorne, *Strategi and Royal Scribes* 103–4.

<sup>3</sup> These decaproti are not known from elsewhere. Decaproti were drawn from the bouleutic class but the only Alexander listed by A. K. Bowman, *Town Councils* Appendix 2B, from P. Ryl. IV 691 verso (late third century), is probably not the same man; the name is far from rare. On the other hand, the name Stratoniceus is uncommon in the Oxyrhynchite and the Aurelia Stratonice of XLVI 3296 (AD 291) may well be a relation.

<sup>4</sup> τοῖς κοινωνοῖς, δεκαπρότοις. 3980 provides another of the few exceptions to the general rule first formulated by F. Oertel, *Die Liturgie* 211, that each toparchy was normally supervised by a college of two decaproti; other exceptions are noted by E. G. Turner, *JEA* 22 (1936) 8 n. 9. As there appears to be no geographical or chronological pattern discernible among them, the present example should not be taken as indicative of the breakdown of the office at this time. Rather, its probable cause is simply the administration's inability to find enough liturgists with a sufficient πόρος to fill the office on their own, as Turner suggested.

μερῶν κάτω το(παρχίας). The only other example of a decaprotus attached to a part of a toparchy appears to be X 1260 (AD 286). Otherwise only *protostatae* are so designated (SB VI 9502, XLIV 3184). As 3184 also concerns μέση of the Lower toparchy, the connection between the decaproti and the short-lived office of *protostates* may have been closer than seemed to be the case when the office was discussed by A. K. Bowman, *Akten des XIII Internationalen Papyrologenkongresses* 43–51, esp. 49, see J. E. G. Whitehorne, *ZPE* 62 (1986) 159–72, esp. 163–4.

<sup>7</sup> For the *rationalis* Valerius Euthius see introd.  
<sup>8</sup> ἐμβάλεσθε. Cf. SB XII 11082. 2 (138–161) [τοῖς ὄν τὸν πυρὸν] ἐμβολομένους εἰσπολόγους. The supervisory role of the decaproti, and before (and after) them, the sitologi, in the loading of grain cargoes is also reflected in the shipping receipts, see XLII 3049 B 18 n. These receipts, issued by the shipper after loading, could be cross-checked against a directive of the present type to minimise the possibility of collusion between strategus and decaproti, cf. P. Panop. Beatty 2. 68–71, or between decaproti and shipper, as seems to be implied in 1 62.

<sup>9</sup> Παναγνίνου. For the practice of carving a name-device upon a ship's prow see P. Panop. Beatty 2. 209, L. Casson, *Ships and Seamanship in the Ancient World* 344–60.

<sup>9</sup> Παναγνίνου. The identification of Antinous with Pan is novel, nor is either god listed as a ship's name by L. Casson, op. cit. 439 ff. For other combinations of names of gods with the name Antinous see F. Dornseiff, B. Hansen, *Rückläufiges Wörterbuch der griechischen Eigennamen* 277 s.v. '-νοος'; the majority are Antinoite theophoric personal names, see F. Preisigke, *Namenbuch* s.vv. In Egypt, Pan was primarily a god of the desert, see A. Bernard, *Le Paneion d'El-Kanaïs* xix–xxi, whereas Antinous was usually identified with gods of vegetation/fertility: Dionysus, Osiris, Bes (see W. Gdz. 121) in Egypt, Vertumnus in Italy, or, most commonly, with Apollo; for the iconography see C. W. Clairmont, *Die Bildnisse des Antinous*. Yet both Pan and Antinous are suitable tutelary deities for a ship, Antinous thanks to his intimate, though unfortunate, connection with the Nile (hence the Egyptian identification of him with Osiris), and Pan as *Ἐνόδος*, protector of travellers, see A. Bernard, *Pan du Désert* 276. Both of them, too, share the epithet *σωτήρ*, indicating their protective aspect, and Antinous is also identified with Hermes, another protector of travellers, cf. the Antinoite personal name Ἐρμινάντιου and the epithet Ἀργεΐφοντιάδης in a hexameter poem about Hadrian and Antinous, VIII 1085 and 9 n.

<sup>11</sup> καθαρωτάτου. Cf. P. Cairo Goodspeed 14. 5.

<sup>11–12</sup> ἐκτὸς πάσης φαυλότητος τυγχάνοντ[ος]. The phrase seems to be without parallel; no reference to wine in L 3574 B. The normal specification is that the grain should be ἀδοκός and ἀβωλός. As φαυλότης is used of the 'badness' of either persons or things (*LSJ* s.v.), this phrase is clearly its equivalent and covers both deliberate and accidental adulteration or spoilage of the cargo.

<sup>13</sup> This line was left rather short, with the cap of the final sigma prolonged towards the right margin to occupy a space equivalent to the width of six letters in the line above.

<sup>14</sup> χιλεί[ας (l. χιλίας) c. 12 letters -κο]ντα ἐξ. Possibilities are seriously limited by the space available. The most likely seems to be χιλεί[ας ἐξακοσίας ἐξήκο]ντα ἐξ followed by a fraction,  $\frac{3}{4}$ ; 14% of this is 233 $\frac{3}{4}$ , to give a total of 1900 as in line 16. Yet although the percentage customarily included to compensate for adulteration or short measure varies considerably, it is perhaps unlikely to be as high as this, see A. J. M. Meyer-Termeer, *Die Haftung der Schiffer* 17–19, cf. next note.

<sup>15</sup> ὑπέρ] ἑκατ[ο]στῶν. Cf. L 3573 11, 15, where the percentage is also unusually high at 12%. The usual form of expression is *σύν* + dative, cf. X 1259, Stud. Pap. XX 32, P. Warren 5, PSI IX 1053.

<sup>16</sup> The reading of the figures seems convincing. If they are correct, they must represent the load inclusive of the percentage surcharge. The beginning of the line may well have contained the amount of the percentage, see above 14 n., followed by (γίνονται) ἐπὶ τὸ ἀ(δρό) *vel sim.*, indicating that the figure which followed was the total of the cargo, but there is a real difficulty in finding a satisfactory restoration of lines 14–16 in the right combination of words and figures to satisfy the space.

J. E. G. WHITEHORNE

### 3981. PETITION

9 1B.185/C(c)

15.5 × 25.5 cm

February/March 312

A petition about persistent harassment over a debt which the complainant claims does not exist. The text lacks the name and title of the addressee, but as the petitioner refers to hearings before the former strategus Hesychius, who is new, see 7 n., and

alludes to the need to seek satisfaction from a higher authority if the attacks on him continue (20), the document is likely to have been addressed to one of the officials at the level of the nome. Possible candidates at this period are the strategus, the prytanis, or the logistes; the use of the honorific ἡ σὴ ἐμμέλεια (17) perhaps favours the last, see 1 n.

There is a sheet-join 3.5 cm from the left hand edge. The overlap between the sheets is just slightly less than this and the upper, left hand sheet has been feathered in by removing the back layer of vertical fibres, beginning about 2.5 cm from its right edge, in order to ensure a smoother overlap, cf. P. Harris II 212 introd. The back is blank.

c. 12 letters ] . . . [ ρ [ . . . ] ; . . . [ . . . ] . τ ρ ψ  
 π]αρά Αὐρηλίου Ἀρμάσιος Τιθοῆ[υς] ἱερέως  
 κώμης Χενετώριος. Κ. . . φικ Ψ[ο]ναυτος  
 ἀπὸ τῆς αὐτῆς κώμης οὐ πα[ύ]εται εἰς [ . . . ] γ'-  
 5 πλοκάς κατ' ἐμοῦ τοῦ μετρίου ἐξαργαζομέ-  
 νη. πολλάκις μὲν γὰρ ἐπὶ τοῦ προ[ε]στ-  
 ρατηγῆσαντος Ἑσυχίου ἤγαγόν μοι  
 ὡσάν ὑπόχρεον τυγχάνοντα ἀργυρίων  
 αὐτῆς καὶ καταγνωσθῆσα οὐκ ἀπέ-  
 10 τη. μάρτυρας γὰρ διαφόρους ἐπὶ τοῦ  
 προστρατηγῆσαντος ἀγαγὼν ἀπέδιξα  
 φανερώς μηδὲν μοι χρεωστῆν, ἡ δὲ  
 οὐ πανομένη συνσκευάζεσθαι μοι  
 παρ' ἕκαστα ἐπιχειρεῖ καὶ ἐπὶ κα-  
 15 τὰ πάντα καθαρὸς φένομαι ἀπὸ χρέ-  
 ον ταύτης κατὰ τοῦτο τὰ βιβλία ἐπι-  
 διδοὺς τῇ σὴ ἐμμελία ἀξιώ νῦν ὑπὸ <ο>ῦ  
 αὐτὴν κωλύεσθαι ἐπιβένουσάν μοι  
 ἵνα μὴ εἰς ἀνίαν ἀγκυρῆ προαχθῶ  
 20 τῇ μίξονι ἐξουσίᾳ διανοχθῆσαι περὶ τούτου.  
 ὑπατείας τῶν δεσποτῶν ἡμῶν Κωνσταντίνου  
 καὶ Λικιννίου Σεβαστῶν τὸ β'. (m. 2) Φαμενώθ  
 Αὐρηλίου Ἀρμάσιος Θετοῆσος ἐπιδέδωκα.  
 Αὐρηλίου Νεχθερώσιος Φθιμούσιος ἔγραψα  
 25 ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ γράμματα μὴ εἰδότος.

2 ἱερέως	4-5 I. συμπλοκάς	5-6 I. ἐξεργαζομένη	7 I. με	8 τυγχάνοντα, ἀργυρίων
9 I. καταγνωσθῆσα	11 I. ἀπέδωκα	12 I. με χρεωστῆν	13 I. συνσκευάζεσθαι	14 I. ἐπιχειρεῖ,
ἐπέ	15 I. φαίνομαι	17 I. ἐμμελία	18 I. ἐπιβαίνουσιν	19 ἵνα, ἀναγκυρῆ: I. ἀνάγκη
20 I. μίξονι	23 I. Τιθοῆσος			

'...from Aurelius Harmasis, son of Tithoēs, priest of the village of Chenetoris. C...iphis, daughter of Psoasūs, from the same village does not stop working away at her struggles against me, reasonable man that I am. For many times she brought me before the former strategus Hesychnius as though I happened to be in debt to her for monies and although the judgement went against her she did not desist. For having brought different witnesses before the former strategus I demonstrated clearly that I owe nothing, but she incessantly tries to arrange matters against me on each and every occasion and since on all counts I am manifestly free from debt to this woman I submit my petition to your grace and ask now that she be prevented by you from attacking me so that I may not be brought to the necessity of troubling higher authority on this matter.'

'In the 2nd consulship of our masters Constantine and Licinius Augusti, (2nd hand) Phamenoth ...'  
 'I, Aurelius Harmasis, son of Tithoēs, have submitted the petition. I, Aurelius Nechtheroēs, son of Pthimius, wrote on his behalf as he does not know letters.'

1 Exiguous traces only. The first three lines are offset slightly to the left but, if the addressee were the strategus, the spacing would still be insufficient to read the name of either of the men who might have been in office in this year: Aurelius Dioscurides alias Julianus, who was strategus on 22 August 311 (XXXIII 2668), or Aurelius Sarapion alias Serenus, who may have taken over from him in 312 (PSI VIII 886, which mentions Aurelius Ammonius who is first attested as prefect on 17 August 312, see J. Lallemand, *L'Administration* 240), see G. Bastianini, J. Whitehorne, *Strategi and Royal Scribes* 104. However, the honorific ἡ σὴ ἐμμέλεια, used in line 17, is never found of the strategus in this period whereas it is not uncommonly found of the logistes, e.g. I 52, 53, 86, X 1265, P. Rein. II 92, and it is remotely possible that the name and title in this line might be readable as *Ὁδωλερίων Ἡρωνίω* καὶ [Ca]ρ[α]πίωνι; λογ[ιστῆ] [O]ξ[υ]ρ[υ]ν[χ]ί[τ]ου. For his career as logistes see P. Oxy. LIV pp. 223-4. However, this reading is not totally convincing.

2 Τιθοῆσος. Cf. 23 and n. This is a theophoric name which is often found of priests. For references to the god Tithoēs (or Tothoēs) see G. Ronchi, *Lexicon Theonymon* vi 1087-8 s.v. Τοθοῆς, and M. Vandoni, *Rendiconti dell' Istituto Lombardo* 102 (1968) 438-9. For the Egyptian evidence see S. Sauneron, *JNES* 19 (1960) 269-87 and J. Quaegebeur, *Lexikon der Ägyptologie* vi 602-6 s.v. Tithoēs.

3 Χενετώριος. Listed in P. Pruneti, *I centri abitati*, only as a sixth century ἐποίκιον, when it formed part of the estates of the Apion family (XVI 1912 43 etc.). Other known villages in 1912 had been in the Middle toparchy but the account may have dealt with contiguous areas and we cannot assume that this village had also been in the same toparchy.

5 εἰς [ . . . ] ἡ πλοκάς (I. συμπλοκάς). The initial letters have been overwritten. The word is used of the struggles of wrestlers (LS) s.v. 2), but may be extended to include any type of physical scuffle, as in P. Mich. V 230. 19 (cf. the similar use of ἐμπλοκή, P. Ryl. II 124. 28, 150. 12), or the tricks used to ensnare one's opponent. In the almost contemporary P. Cair. Isid. 75. 4 (AD 316) μηδεμίαν τε συμπλοκήν[ν] ἔχω πρός τινος, although translated neutrally by the editors as, 'I am not involved with any persons', may also bear the same meaning of 'quarrel' or 'intrigue'.

7 Ἑσυχίου. Not otherwise known. His tenure of office must fall between that of Aurelius Horion (latest date August 305: XXXVI 2766) and Aurelius Dioscurides alias Julianus (earliest date 310/11: PSI VIII 886). The name Hesychnius is rare in the Oxyrhynchite, occurring less than a dozen times in the indexes to P. Oxy. The only known official with the name in this period is Aurelius Aelurion alias Hesychnius, agent of decaproti in 290 (PSI V 461) and ex-hypomnemotographus, Alexandrian councillor, gymnasiarch, councillor and prytanis of Oxyrhynchus in 297 (XLV 3245 3-5). As strategi were now appointed from within the nome, he might just be the same as our man, or related to him. Other Hesychnii of this period occur in XXXIII 2682 (third/fourth century) and X 1303 (c. 336).

20 τῇ μ(ε)ίξονι ἐξουσίᾳ. The reference is more likely to be to the prefect than to another higher municipal official.

22 A small and faint trace of ink on the edge may be part of the number of the day. More probably this is stray ink and the day number was never added.



23 *Θηβοῖος*. This form is not listed in F. Preisigke, *Namenbuch* or in D. Foraboschi, *Onomasticon*, although it is obviously a phonetic variant of the common *Τιθοῖς*, see 2.

24 *Νεχθερώεις Φθιμούτος*. The names are not attested in these forms although the by-forms *Νεχθεραῖς* and *Φιμούτις* occur elsewhere, see F. Preisigke, *Namenbuch*, D. Foraboschi, *Onomasticon*.

J. E. G. WHITEHORNE

### 3982. RECEIPT FOR PAYMENT

16 2B.45/F(c)

15.5 × 26 cm

5 May 314

Acknowledgement to the strategus by comarchs of the village of Phoboou that they have been reimbursed for the cost of tow provided for the treasury. The text follows the expected pattern; the parallels are collected and discussed most lately in P. Heid, IV 323 introd. Of these XII 1430 (324) also concerns tow, but similar receipts also involve clothing of various kinds, gold and silver, iron, and grain or wheat (*σίτος*).

A sheet join can be seen close to the edge at the bottom right where that edge survives.

At the foot in a third hand, differing from those of the main text and the subscription, is a draft or writing practice (22–23) in the form of an incomplete heading following the same pattern as lines 1–2.

On the back, written along the fibres, is a series of summaries of applications for reimbursement, which are published separately as 3983. The hand in which they are written appears to be the same as the third hand here (22–23). Their date is 7 May 314, just two days later than the present receipt, so that the papyrus was reused almost immediately. This suggests that 3982, although furnished with an authentic subscription (18–21), was a spare copy which soon became available for rough jottings or practice in the office, cf. 3976 introd. The clerk perhaps began to summarise an application for repayment on the foot of this receipt, below the comarch's subscription, before deciding to turn the papyrus over and begin again on another summary, this time of an application from the same comarchs who had submitted 3983. See also 3983 introd.

Αὐρηλίω Σαραπίωνι τῷ καὶ Σερήνῳ στρ(ατηγῶ) [Ἰ]Οξ(υρυγχίτου)  
παρὰ Αὐρηλίων Ἀρπαήσιος Παταθρήτος κ' αἰ Ψ[εναμοῦνιος  
Ἀματόκου, ἀμφ(οτέρων) κωμαρχῶν κώμης Φοβῶ[ου  
τοῦ ἐνεστῶτ[ος ἔ]τους. ἀπέχραμ[ε]ν] κα[ὶ] ἡριθμήμε-  
θα παρὰ Αὐρηλίου Ἀφθονίου, δημοσίῳ[ν]

5

χρημάτων τραπαιζ(ίτου), ἐξ ἐπιστάλα[τος  
...]. ρϖ. . . ε[. . . τ[. . .] ἡτήμεθα ἐπιστ[αλῆναι  
ἐξ[οδ]ι[α]σθῆναι ἡμῖν] ὑπὲρ τιμῆς ὧν παρέχ[αμεν  
εἰς τὸ δημόσιον ζητιπίου ἀπὸ λόγου συναρ[ῆς  
10 διὰ Ἀρίστωνος ἐπιμελητοῦ ὥστε εἰς Ἀλεξάν[δρειαν, (ἔτους)  
κ' κεν(τηναρίων) 5' μῆξ εἰγ'', (ταλ.) 5 (δρ.) φλγ, ὧν (έκατοσταί) 5  
(ἡμισυ) (γίνονται) [(δρ.) Βτοε,  
τὰ λυτὰ (ταλ.) ε (δρ.) Ἄρνη, ζ (ἔτους) '', ε (ἔτους) '' ὁμοί(ως)  
κεν[(τηναρίων) 5  
μῆξ εἰγ'', (ταλ.) 5 (δρ.) φλγ, ὧν (έκατοσταί) 5 (ἡμισυ) (γίνονται) (δρ.)  
Βτοε, τὰ λ[υτὰ (ταλ.) ε  
(δρ.) Ἄρνη, ὁμοῦ (ταλ.) [ια (δρ.) Β]τις (vac.) πλήρη. [κυρία  
15 ἡ ἀποχή καὶ ἐπ[ε]ρ[ω]τηθεῖς ὠμολογήσαμ[εν.  
ὑπατείας Ῥουφίου Οὐλοουσιανοῦ καὶ Πετρωνίου  
Ἄννιαου τῶν λαμπροτάτων, Παχ(ών) ι'.  
(m. 2) Αὐρηλίοι Ἀρπαήσιος καὶ Ψαναμοῦνιος ἡριθμήμε[θα  
τὸ ἀργύριον πλήρη ὡς πρόκειται. Αὐρηλίος Ἄγα-  
20 θος ἔγραψα ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν γράμματα μὴ εἰ-  
δῶτων.  
(m. 3) Αὐρηλίω Σαραπίωνι τῷ καὶ Σερήνῳ στρ(ατηγῶ) ἸΟξ(υρυγχίτου)  
παρὰ Αὐρηλίων Θεωνος (vac.)

1 στρβ 2 1. Παταθρήτος 3 ἀμφ 6 τραπαιζ'': 1. τραπεζίτου 11 κεν'; 1. μναί for  
μῶν, 5 = (δρ.), ρ = (έκατοσταί), 55 = (ἔξ ἡμισυ): and so throughout 12 1. λοιπά; ὁμοί 13 1. μναί  
for μῶν 15 1. ἐπερωτηθέντες 16 ὑπατείας 17 παχ 18 ν of Ψαναμοῦνιος remade  
from μ? 19 1. πρόκειται 22 στρβδ'

To Aurelius Sarapion alias Serenus, strategus of the Oxyrhynchite nome, from the Aurelii Harpaeis son of Pathatres and Psenamunis son of Amatocus, both comarchs of the village of Phoboou for the present year. We have received and been paid from Aurelius Aphthonius, banker of public moneys, in accordance with the instruction of . . . the sums which we requested that instructions be given to be paid to us for the price of what we provided for the treasury in tow on account of the compulsory purchase via Ariston, overseer, for (delivery to) Alexandria: for the 20th year 6 hundredweights, 5½ minas, 6 talents 533 drachmas, of which 6½% is 2375 drachmas, remainder 5 talents 4158 drachmas; for year 7 and 5 likewise 6 hundredweights 5½ minas, 6 talents 533 drachmas, of which 6½% is 2375 drachmas, remainder 5 talents 4158 drachmas, all together 11 talents 2316 drachmas in full. The receipt is valid and having been formally questioned we have assented. In the consulate of Rufius Volusianus and Petronius Annianus, *viri clarissimi*, Pachon 10.'

(2nd hand) 'We, the Aurelii Harpaeis and Psenamunis (*sic*), have had the money paid in full as aforesaid. I, Aurelius Agathus, wrote on their behalf as they do not know letters.'

(3rd hand) 'To Aurelius Sarapion alias Serenus, strategus of the Oxyrhynchite nome, from the Aurelii Theon . . .' (vac.)

1 *Ἀδρηλίω* *Σαραπίωνι τῷ καὶ Σερήνῳ*. Known as strategus from PSI VIII 886 (311/2 or later) and SB XVI 12705 (314), see G. Bastianini, J. Whitehorne, *Strategi and Royal Scribes* 104.

2-3 *Ἀδρηλίω* *Ἀρπαχίου Παθαρήτος καὶ Ψ[εναμούσιος] Ἀματόκου*. These comarchs appear again as the applicants in the first of the requests for payment copied on the back, see 3983, where the names are written correctly as *Παθαρήτος* instead of *Παθαρήτος* and *Ψεναμούσιος*, from *Ψεναμούσιος*, the more normal form, instead of *Ψεναμούσιος*, as here in the subscription (18).

3 *Φοβώ[ου]*. Situated earlier in the Eastern toparchy, and by this date in the fifth *pagus*, see P. Pruneti, *I centri abitati* 214-16.

7 . . . ] . 9ν . . . ε[ . . . ] . 7[ . . . ]. The parallels read simply *ἐξ ἐπιστάλαματός σου*. A possibility might be *τοῦ πρὸ σοῦ στρατηγού*, but I cannot read it; the name of the predecessor of Aurelius Sarapion alias Serenus as strategus, Aurelius Dioscurides alias Julianus, is excluded by virtue of its length. In three of the parallels, BGU II 620 = W. Chr. 186, SB I 4421, CPR V 6, reference is also made to the *procurator* ultimately responsible for the purchase and its reimbursement, but a similar phrase is again excluded here by reason of its length.

9 *ἐπισπίων*: *ετ* broken but sure. According to P. Giessen 103. 11 n. this is the more correct form. For the production of *τ* see the references given in P. Herm. Rees 22. 14 n., XLV 3254-62 introd., P. Köln III 151 introd., and P. Mich. XIV 680. 3 n.

10-11 (*ἔτους*) ] κ' = 311/12, cf. R. S. Bagnall, K. A. Worp, *Regnal Formulas* 36.

11 *κεν(τηριαίων) ε μνῆ εγ'*. For the reading see line 13. As the price was the same in two consecutive years, it seems safe to assume that the quantity provided was also the same. A *centenarium* was equivalent to just less than 35 kg., see A. Segre, *Metrologia* 47-51, and was divided into 60 minas, as here, or 100 *librae*. In the Price Edict of Diocletian (§26. 1-3, ed. M. Giaccherio) the price of the three different grades of tow is set at 24, 20 and 16 *denarii a libra*, i.e. 9600, 8000 and 6400 drachmas a *centenarium*. The present price, which works out at exactly 1 talent per *centenarium*, therefore represents a considerable discount in the government's favour, over and above the deduction of 6½%, which is normal in transactions of this type, see below. For other prices of tow known from this period see LIV p. 235.

*δν (έκατοστὰ) ε (ἡμῶν)*, cf. 13. A discount of 6½% is regularly applied by the state in these transactions, see XLIV 3194 10 ῥ., H. C. Youtie, *TAPA* 87 (1956) 69-76 = *Scriptunculae* i 265-72, and full discussion by R. Rémondon, *Rev. Phil.* 32 (1958) 244-60.

12 ζ (*ἔτους*)', ε (*ἔτους*)' = 312/3, cf. R. S. Bagnall, K. A. Worp, *Regnal Formulas* 37.

22-3 On the relationship of this hand to the applications for repayment written on the back see introd. and 3983 introd.

J. E. G. WHITEHORNE

3983. REQUESTS FOR PAYMENT

16 2B.45/F(c)

26 x 15.5 cm

7 May 314

Summary copies of several applications to the strategus from comarchs in villages of the fifth *pagus*, asking for reimbursement of the cost of commodities provided for the treasury. The applications are written along the fibres on the back of 3982, in which the comarchs Aurelii Harpaesis and Psenamunis, who also appear here in line 3, acknowledge reimbursement of a similar claim. Parallel applications are XLIV 3194 (323) and P. Ryl. IV 660 (338); similar in form are applications for reimbursement from municipal funds, such as I 55 (283), VIII 1104 (306) and XLIV 3193 (308?).

The present examples appear to be drafts or mere writing practice, done probably in the office of the strategus, where the receipt on the front would have been lodged. The same writer wrote two lines in the lower margin of the document on the other

side, 3982 22-3. Another hand, very rapid and spindly, using abbreviations freely, has added a note in a lighter coloured ink in the left hand margin opposite lines 9-17:

ὑπατείας 'Ρουφίου Οὐόλουσιανοῦ καὶ Πετρανίου Ἄννιανοῦ τῶν λαμπροτάτων, Παχῶν ιβ.  
*Ἀδρηλίω* *Σαραπίωνι τῷ καὶ Σερήνῳ* *στρατηγῶ Ὁξ(υρνηχίτου)*  
*παρὰ Ἀδρηλίω* *Ἀρπαχίου Παθαρήτος καὶ Ψεναμούσιος Ἀματόκου*, ἀμφοτέρων  
*κωμαρχῶν, τῶν πάντων ἀπὸ {κω} α( ) κώμης, συνωνῆς εἰς λόγον θει( ) χ̄*  
 5 [ *Ἀ[ῦρη]λίω* [*Σαραπίωνι τῷ καὶ Σερήνῳ*] *στρατηγῶ Ὁξ(υρνηχίτου)* *παρὰ Ἀδρηλίω*  
 (vac.) *παρὰ Ἀδρηλίω* *Πεκύσιος Πεκύσιος . . . . . η. ἡδος*  
*παρὰ Ἀδρηλίω* *Ψεναπέως Ματρέου [καὶ] Ἀτρέως Πανοσβέως ἀμφοτέρων {κ}*  
*κωμαρχῶν κώμης Ποσομπῶς ε' πάγου τοῦ ἐνεστώτος ἔτους. αἰτούμεθα ἐπιστάληναι*  
 10 *ἐξοδισθῆναι ἡμῶν ὑπὲρ τιμῆς οὐ παρέχουμεν εἰς τὸ δημόσιον ἐπιπίου ἀπὸ λόγου*  
*συνωνῆς. Ἀδρηλίω* *Σαραπίωνι τῷ καὶ Σερήνῳ* *στρατηγῶ Ὁξυρνηχίτου.*  
*ὑπατείας 'Ρουφίου Οὐόλουσιανοῦ καὶ Πετρανίου Ἄννιανοῦ τῶν λαμπροτάτων, Παχῶν ιβ.*  
*ἀμφοτέρων κώμης Ποσομπῶς ε' πάγου τοῦ ἐνεστώτος ἔτους. εἰτούμεθα ἐπιστάληναι ἐξοδισ-*  
 15 *θῆναι ἡμῶν ὑ(πὲρ) <τι> μῆς οὐ παρέχουμεν εἰς τὸ δημόσιον ἀπὸ λόγου συν(ωνῆς) χωρισαν . . ε. [*  
 (vac.) *δημόσιον τ. . . . . τιμῆς παρέσ[χουμεν]*  
*ὑπατείας 'Ρουφίου* *Ὁξόλουσιανοῦ καὶ Π[ετ]ρ[ωνίου] Ἄννιανοῦ τῶν λαμπροτάτων*  
 (vac.?) ] *Φαμενώθ λ'* . . . [ c. 10 letters ] (vac.) *ἡγανάκτι* (vac.)  
 c. 50 letters ] κ[ω]μαρχῶν κώ-

Upwards in the left hand margin opposite 9-17:

(m. 2) ] . . λιοσ ἀπὸ κ(ώμης) Ποσο(μπῶς).

2 οξ' 4 αποξακωμης: 1. ἀπὸ τῆς αὐτῆς κώμης; θει(χ- 6 οξ' του 8 I. ἀμφοτέρων  
 10 I. ἡμῶν 11 οξυρνηχίτου 13 I. αἰτούμεθα 14 I. ἡμῶν, υ', συν 17 ἡγανάκτι: η corr.  
 (from α?), I. ἡγανάκτι? 19 κ[ω]μαρχῶν

'In the consulate of Rufius Volusianus and Petronius Annianus, *uiri clarissimi*, Pachon 12.'  
 'To Aurelius Sarapion alias Serenus, strategus of the Oxyrhynchite, from the Aurelii Harpaesis son of Pathatres and Psenamunis son of Amatocus, both comarchs, all from (the same?) village, compulsory purchase to the account of the . . .'  
 'To Aurelius Sarapion alias Serenus, strategus of the Oxyrhynchite nome, from the Aurelii Pecysis son of Pecysis and . . . From the Aurelii Psenaseus son of Matreas and Hatreas son of Panotbes, both comarchs of the village of Posompōys, in the fifth *pagus*, for the present year. We request that instructions be given for payment to be made to us for the price of tow, which we provided for the treasury, on account of compulsory purchase.'  
 'To Aurelius Sarapion alias Serenus, strategus of the Oxyrhynchite nome. In the consulate of Rufius Volusianus and Petronius Annianus, *uiri clarissimi*, Pachon 12. Both of the village of Posympōys, in the fifth *pagus*, for the present year. We request that instructions be given for payment to be made to us for the price of . . . which we provided for the treasury, on account of compulsory purchase, without (?) . . . the treasury (?) . . . the price . . . we provided. . .'

'In the consulate of Rufius Volusianus and Petronius Annianus, uiri clarissimi ...'  
Margin. '...ius from the village of Posompōys.'

2, 6, 11 For the strategus see **3982** 1 n.

3 *Ἀβρηλίων Ἀπασιέσιος Παπατρήτος* καὶ *Ψεναμοῖνιος Ἀματόκου*. The same comarchs are the applicants in the receipt for repayment which occupies the front of this papyrus, see **3982** 3 n.; in line 2 there *Παπατρήτος* is written instead of *Παθατρήτος*, and in line 18 *Ψεναμοῖνιος* instead of *Ψεναμοῖνιος*.

4 This line is particularly disjointed. The writer was perhaps thinking of ἀπὸ τῆς ἀ(ὐ)τῆς κώμης as well as ἀπὸ κώμης followed by the village name; *κωνωνῆς* has lost its context, for which see **3982** 9; *θει* has no counterpart elsewhere in the document, but may suggest εἰς λόγον θείας διατυπώσεως, cf. P. Sakaon 85. 3-4; *χ* is fairly well separated and perhaps represents *χ(αίρειν)*.

5 The upper layer of fibres is stripped from across the entire width of the papyrus. There is room for one, possibly even two lines of writing, to include details of the first claim, but much of the space may have been taken up with the date clause for the second request for payment which begins in line 6.

6 *Ὁξ(υρρυχί)του*. Or *Ὁξ(υρρυχίτου) (του)*.

11 It is clear that another application must begin after *κωνωνῆς* and although there is no change of line, or even a gap left, the initial alpha of *Ἀβρηλίων* is written larger than usual.

12-13 The names of the comarchs may have been omitted by error or because they had already been written out in full above in line 8. If the former, the marginal note opposite these lines might be taken as an attempt to correct this slip, but I cannot read it as such.

14-15 ἀπὸ λόγου *κωνωνῆς* χωριστῶν, ε. [ (15) *δημόσιον*. The analogy of XII **1430** 12-13, (δ) *πὲρ τιμὴν ἀντρακος χωρ(ούντος) εἰς τὸ δημόσιον πανίδιον*, suggests that the lines may have run ἀπὸ λόγου *κωνωνῆς* χωριστῶν(τος) εἰ[ς τὸ] *δημόσιον*: I. *χωρήσαντος*, but in view of the lack of any clear mark of abbreviation after *κων* this must remain only a suggestion.

16-17 If the date is to be read consecutively, supposing that the beginning of 17 was left blank, it is equivalent to 26 March 314. It was evidently written after that date, see 1, 12, and **3982** 16-17.

18 *ἠγανάκτι* (I. *ἠγανάκτει*, 'he was angry?'). This seems completely strange to the context. *ετα* has an loop near the top left, which might be the beginning of an alpha (for *ἀνακτα-*) soon converted into the *ετα*. The dotted alpha is on a small scale for this hand and rather open, but it can be paralleled often in *καί* and in the *-αι* of *ἐπισταλῆραι* (13).

19 This may have been a full line following the pattern of 8-9, possibly omitting *ἀμφοτέρων* or with shorter names for the comarchs.

J. E. G. WHITEHORNE

### 3984. ADDRESS TO A STRATEGUS

8 1B.190/D(2)c

8.5 × 4 cm

340

The main interest of this fragment is that it attests as strategus a man who was previously known only from later stages of his career, see LIV p. 229, G. Bastianini, J. Whitehorne, *Strategi and Royal Scribes* 105. Aurelius Dionysarius, addressed here as strategus, is attested as logistes in AD 342 with the status designation Flavius (I **87**, P. Harris I 65); for the grant of the imperial *nomen* to holders of this office see XLVI **3306** 1 n., **3308-11** introd., and especially J. G. Keenan, *ZPE* 53 (1983) 245-50. Then in 346 he appears again as *riparius* along with another ex-logistes Flavius Eulogius (VI **897**).

On the back, in another hand, is a name with a note of a sum of money against it.

ὑπατείας Σεπτίμιου Ἀκινδύνου τ[οῦ] λαμ(προτάτου)  
ἐπάρχου τοῦ ἱεροῦ πραιτωρίου καὶ Ποπυ[λωνίου]  
Πρόκλου τοῦ λαμ(προτάτου). (vac.) [  
Ἀβρηλίων Διονουαρίω στρατηγῶ [Ὁξυρρυχίτου  
5 πα]ρὰ Ἀβρηλίων Ἀτρή ἀπὸ κώ[μης] Σαραπί-  
ω|νος Χαυρήμωνος καὶ Ὁρο[υ]

Back, across fibres upside down in relation to the writing on the front:

|| Πανσόφιον θυ(γάτηρ) Διοσκόρ(ου) (τάλαντα) . [

3 λαμς' 6 I. Χαυρήμωνος 7 θυ' διοσκόρ'

'In the consulate of Septimius Acindynus, uir clarissimus, prefect of the sacred praetorium, and of Populonium Proculus, uir clarissimus.'

'To Aurelius Dionysarius, strategus of the Oxxyrhynchite nome, from the Aurelii Hatres from the village of Sarapion son of Chaeremon and Horus(?) ...'

Back. (2nd hand) 'Pansophium daughter of Dioscorus: ... talent(?)'.

1 To judge from the spacing *λαμπροτάτου* was abbreviated, as in line 3.

1-3 For the consulship see R. S. Bagnall etc., *Consuls of the Later Roman Empire* 214-15.

4 *Ἀβρηλίων Διονουαρίω στρατηγῶ*. Not otherwise known as strategus; for his other offices see introd. His latest firmly dated predecessor as strategus is presently Aurelius Ptolemaeus in office at some point in 332 (XII **1426**, XLII **3127**). His earliest known successor is Claudius Heraclius, who appears as strategus on 1 March 342 in I **87** ii 3; col. i-ii of this text remain unpublished but the reading has been confirmed by Dr R. A. Coles from the original.

5 *Ἀτρή*. For the short form of the genitive see F. T. Gignac, *Grammar* ii 73.

5-6 κώ[μης] Σαραπίωνος Χαυρήμωνος (I. -μωνος). A small village formerly in the Eastern toparchy, found here for the first time as a κώμη, being designated an *εποίκιον* still in PSI V 449 (312), see P. Pruneti, *I centri abitati* s.v. However, the terms had by then become virtually interchangeable in usage, see Pruneti, op. cit. 10-11.

7 The oblique strokes, which rise from below, are rather like those which occur in accounts as check marks, although these penetrate the initial pi more strongly than those generally do. Below this line there is a depth of more than 2 cm of blank papyrus without sign of further entries. Nevertheless it may be that this entry did form part of some account.

*Πανσόφιον*. This woman's name, though of a normal type, is new. Pansophius seems to have occurred in SB III 7243 (= VIII 9746). 21 (*νόμφη Πανσοφίου*), 30, although the letter is so illiterate that it is not perfectly certain that the person is not a woman. It is assigned to the beginning of the fourth century. The significant event in the lives of Pansophia and her young son Pansophius, listed in A. H. M. Jones etc., *Prosopography of the Later Roman Empire* i 665, took place in 393/4. The *comes* Pansophius listed ibid. ii 829 is dated to 449. A *Πάνσοφος* is attested in a Byzantine inscription from Crete, P. M. Fraser, E. Matthews, *A Lexicon of Greek Personal Names* i s.v. Our text seems to give the earliest firmly dated name of this group.

J. E. G. WHITEHORNE

3985. NOMINATION OF A *NOMICARIUS*

65 6B.36/A(1)a

33 × 24 cm

9 May 473

The document is complete on three sides but torn horizontally below line 17. The beginnings of lines 1–9 are badly abraded. The first hand resembles that of XVI 1878 (AD 461). Two vertical kolleseis (8. 5 K<sup>1</sup> 16. 5 K<sup>2</sup> 7. 5).

The councillors (τὸ κοινόν) of the villagers of Takona notify Anuphius, through his father Theodorus, that they have nominated him *nomicarius* for the next two years. For his services they will pay him a salary (λόγῳ μισθῶν) of 26 solidi 'in addition to the so-called subvention' (ἐπικουρία, see 11 n.). His duties will include paying the villagers' share of the taxes (δημόσια). His father, Theodorus son of Megas also called Didymus, is also a *nomicarius* (4); he occurs again, in the same capacity, in AD 494 (3986) and in 498 (XIX 2237 5). The present text, as well as I 154 = XVI 2024 where two *nomicarii* are mentioned, suggests that in the fifth and sixth centuries there were at least two acting *nomicarii*.

Anuphius is obviously still a minor; the fact that he is nominated to serve (apparently) with his father seems to indicate that it had become very difficult to find suitable candidates for this office.

The office of *nomicarius* is first attested in AD 298: P. Panop. Beatty 1. 252–5 and 385–8 are letters addressed to Φιλοξένῳ νομικαρίῳ. The first of these informs him that two boats have been ordered by the *praeses* of the Thebaid for the postal service (see also 154 = 2024 10), one of which is to be provided by the nome (ἀπὸ τοῦ νομοῦ), and Philoxenus is to 'make provision for all these matters'; the other letter orders him, on behalf of the same *praeses*, to provide hides for a military fort, ὅπως τοῦ διμοίρου μέρους τοῦ ἐπιβάλλοντος τ[ῶ] νομῶ τὸν μερικὸν ποιήσας φανερόν καταστήσ[η]ς, i.e., the *nomicarius* is responsible for the two-thirds share due from the nome (the remaining third being due from the metropolis). The apportionment (μερικμός) of this contribution to the villages of the nome is one of the responsibilities of the *nomicarius*. Mr T. C. Skeat had already concluded from this text that the *nomicarius* had nothing to do with νόμος, but 'exercised some special accounting duties in relation to the nome as distinct from the metropolis' (P. Panop. Beatty 1. 252 n.). His interpretation is confirmed by the present text, which states also that his duties (ἀνήκοντα, 12) included payment of the taxes on behalf of the villagers. These seem to be included in the salary of 26 solidi for each of the two years, which would otherwise be an exorbitant sum.

Compare also LV 3788 2 n.

+ μ[ετ]ὰ τὴν ἕπατ[ε]ί[α]ν Φλαρ[υ]ίου Μαρκιανοῦ τοῦ λαμπρο(τάτου) καὶ τοῦ δηλωθ(ησομένου), Παχῶν ιδ, ἰνδι[κ(τίονος)] ια ἀρχ(ῆ) ιβ, ἐν Ὁξυρύγγ(ων πόλει).

τὸ [κ|ρω|ὸ]ν τῶν [ἀπ]ὸ κώμης Τακόνα τοῦ Ὁξυρυγγίτου νομοῦ δι' ἡμῶν  
 Ἰωάννου [Πα]τρῶς καὶ Νιλᾶ Σερήνου  
 [ἀνα]δεχομένῳ[ν] καὶ τὴν γνώμην τῶν ἄλλων ὁμοκομητ[ῶν] Αὐρηλίῳ  
 Ἀνουφ[ί]ῳ υἱῷ Θεοδώρου διὰ τοῦ τοῦ  
 [πατρὸ]ς ἀπ[ε]στ[ῶ]ν Θεοδώρου υἱ[ὸ]σ[τ]ῶν καὶ Διδύμου ἀπὸ τῆς  
 Ὁξ[υρυγγ]ιτῶν νομ[ικ(αρίου)] χαίρειν. [τ]οῦ κύκλου  
 5 [ . . ] ἐς[ . . ]τος ὥστε ἡμᾶς τὸν νομικ[α(ρίον ὄνο)]μάσαι κατὰ τῆ[ν]  
 ἐπιβάλλουσαν τ[ῆ] ἡμετέρα κώμη ἀναλογίαν  
 [ὑ]φ' ἐν γ[εν]όμενοι καὶ μίας γ[ν]ώμης κρ[α]τήσαντες ἀνομάσαμεν ἐν  
 τὸν προγεγραμμένον Ἀνούφιον διὰ τοῦ  
 σοῦ πατρὸς Θεοδώρου ἐπὶ τῆς δωδεκάτης καὶ τρικαιδεκάτης τῶν  
 ἐπιμελήσεων εἰς τὴν αὐτὴν τοῦ  
 νομ[ικα]ρίου χώραν καὶ φροντίδα ἐπὶ τῶ ἐ παραμίνα καὶ ὑπακοῦσαι  
 εἰς τὸ αὐτὸ τοῦ νομικαρίου φρόντισμα καὶ  
 μηδα[μῶ]ς ἀπολιφθῆναι, καὶ συνεφωνήθη καὶ ἔδοξεν ὥστε ἡμᾶς καθ'  
 ἕκαστον ἐνιαυτόν, ὡς εἴρηται,  
 10 ὑπὲρ τ[ῆ]ς δωδεκάτης καὶ τρικαιδεκάτης τῶν ἰνδικτιόνων παρασχεῖν  
 σοι λόγῳ μισθῶν ἐκτὸς τῆς καλου-  
 μένης ἐπικουρίας χρυσοῦ νομισμάτια εἰκοσιεξ πρὸς τῶ ἐ μέντοι τοῖς  
 δημοσίοις ἀποκρίνασθαι καὶ ὅσα ἐστὶν  
 τὰ ἀνήκοντα τῷ νομικ[α]ρίῳ ποιῆσαι καὶ πάσαν ἀπόκρισιν παρασχεῖν  
 ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν κατὰ τὸ ἐπιβάλλον  
 ἡμῖν μέρος καὶ μηδαμῶς ἀπολιφθῆναι. καὶ πρὸς ἀσφάλιαν σὴν ταύτην  
 σοι πεποιήμεθα τὴν  
 ὀνομασίαν ἣτις κυρία ὄρεα ἀπλή ἐγράφη, καὶ ἐπερωτηθέντες  
 ὡμολογήσαμεν. (m. 2) + Αὐρηλίῳ Ἰωάννη  
 15 Πατρῶς καὶ Νειλᾶς Σερήνου οἱ προγεγραμμένοι ἀναδεχόμενοι καὶ  
 τῆς γνώμης τῶν ἄλλων ὁμοκομητῶν  
 πεποιήμεθα τὴν ὀνομασίαν τοῦ νομικαρίου καὶ συμφωνεῖ ἡμῖν πάντα τὰ  
 ἐγγεγραμμένα  
 ὡς πρόκειται. Αὐρήλιος Γερμανὸς Ἰωάννου ἀξιωθῆς ἔγραψα ὑπὲρ  
 αὐτῶν γράμματα μὴ εἰδῶτων.

Back, downwards along the fibres:

+ ὀνομα(ακία) τοῦ νομικ(αρίου) τῶν ἀπὸ κώμ(ης) Τακόνα.

1 λαμπρῖ, δηλωθ, αρχς, οξυρνηχς 2 ἰωαννου; 1. Πατβώτος 3 1. ὀμοκωμητῶν 8 1. παραμέναι  
9 1. ἀπολειφθῆναι 10 ἰνδικτιωνων; 1. ἰνδικτιώνων 11 1. πρὸς τὸ 12 1. ἀπόκρισι  
13 1. ἀπολειφθῆναι, ἀσφάλειαν 14 ἰωαννης 15 1. Πατβώτος 17 1. πρόκειται, ἀξιοθεῖς  
18 ονομῶς, νομικ, κομῶς

'After the consulship of Flavius Marcianus, *uir clarissimus*, and of the consul to be designated, Pachon 14, 11th indiction year, beginning of the 12th (*epinemesis*), at Oxyrhynchus.'

'The council of the inhabitants of Takona in the Oxyrhynchite nome, through us, Johannes son of Patbos and Nilas son of Serenus, who guarantee also the opinion of their other fellow villagers, to Aurelius Anuphius son of Theodorus, through you, his father Theodorus son of Megas also called Didymus, from the city of the Oxyrhynchites, *nomicarius*, greetings. As the cycle (has come?) for us to nominate the *nomicarius* according to the proportionate share falling to our village, we have, after coming to terms (?) and reaching agreement, nominated you the afore-mentioned Anuphius, through your father Theodorus, for the twelfth and thirteenth *epinemeses* for the same position and duty of *nomicarius* on condition that you stay and fulfil the duty of *nomicarius* without falling short in any way; and it has been agreed and decided that we shall pay you in each year for the twelfth and thirteenth indictions as salary, in addition to the so-called subvention, twenty-six gold solidi, in order that you pay the taxes and do all that a *nomicarius* has to do and carry out all payment for us according to the share that falls to us, without falling short in any way; and for your security we have issued this nomination to you, which is valid and has been written in one copy, and in answer to the formal question we have given our assent.'

(2nd hand) 'We, the Aurelii Johannes son of Patbos and Nilas son of Serenus, the afore-mentioned, who guarantee (represent?) also the opinion of our other fellow villagers, have made the nomination of the *nomicarius* and agree to all the terms set out above, as aforesaid. I, Aurelius Germanus son of Johannes, have written on request for them as they are illiterate.'

Back. (1st hand?) 'Nomination of the *nomicarius* of the people from the village of Takona.'

1 This is the first papyrus document certainly dated in 473, the year of the fifth consulship of the western emperor Leo I. It is, however, dated *post consulatum Fl. Marciani*, after the consulship of the eastern consul of 472; the consul of the West, Flavius Festus, the last consul appointed by a western emperor, was not recognized in the East. For Flavius Marcianus see *PLRE* II 717-8.

It has been argued in R. S. Bagnall etc., *The Consuls of the Later Roman Empire* 683, cf. 481, that P. Lond. III 869 descr., published by G. Parássoglou in *Mneme G. Petropoulos* ii 203-6, should be restored with the form exemplified here and dated to 14 September 473.

ἀρχ(ῆ) ββ. The formula 'indiction x, ἀρχῆ of x + 1' appears to be peculiar to Oxyrhynchus, see R. S. Bagnall, K. A. Worp, *The Chronological Systems* 20 ff., who state (p. 26), 'where this phrase occurs and the second number is not followed by any word for indiction, the date is after 1 July. From this we think it safe to conclude that such double indictional dates refer to the date of the *delegatio*, the Egyptian indiction properly speaking, and that the double date thus joins the Thoth and July reckonings'. The present text shows, however, that the second part of the formula (ἀρχῆ of x + 1) must refer to the Pachon indiction, i.e. to the *praedelegatio*, as ἐνωμένους does in I 140 11 and XVI 1966 10.

3 [ἀνα]δεχομένω[ν] καὶ τὴν γνώμην: they 'guarantee' the opinion or decision of their fellow villagers, i.e. they guarantee that the other villagers support their decision. Cf. PSI I 43. 2, XII 1239. 3 (both fifth century), BGU XII 2180. 3, P. München I 14. 11, 100 (both sixth century).

4 Aurelius Theodorus son of Megas also called Didymus, is again attested as *nomicarius* at Oxyrhynchus in 494 (3986) and in 498 (XIX 2237), possibly also in P. land. 45. 1 (fifth/sixth century).

4-5 Probably [ἐν]ε[σ]τ[ῶ]ρος rather than [π]ε[σ]τ[ῶ]ρος. Whatever the verb may have been, κύκλου suggests a system of rotation under which the villages took it in turns to nominate a *nomicarius*. For a similar system of rotation which operated among the tribes of Oxyrhynchus at the beginning of the third century see the introduction to XLIII 3095.

6 [ὁ]φ' ἐν γ[ε]ν[ε]όμενοι, cf. 3987 9.

11 ἐπικουρία normally means 'support', as in P. Abinn. 63. 42, SB IV 7438. 7 and XXXI 2611 22, but seems to be a special levy in P. Cair. Isid. 11. 27 (AD 312).

H. MAEHLER

### 3986. FRAGMENT OF CONTRACT BETWEEN OFFICIALS

65 6B.34/J(1-2)a

9.8 × 15 cm

8 March 494

The papyrus is complete on three sides but torn off at the bottom. It has a vertical kollesis at c. 2 cm from the right hand margin. The back is blank.

The heading, consisting of a date by post-consulship, month and day, and indiction, followed by the place of issue, ἐν Ὁξυρύνχων πόλει, is clearly that of an ordinary contract, but the parties hold interesting official positions. Two officers (*primicerii*) of the *quaestionarii* on the staff of the *praeses* of the province of Arcadia address Theodorus, the *nomicarius* of the Oxyrhynchite nome known from 3985 (AD 473) and XIX 2237 (AD 498). The document breaks off even before this prescript is finished. The two *primicerii* may be on the *praeses*' staff at Heracleopolis, like the *princeps* in P. Mich. XI 613 (AD 415) and the *exceptor* in CPR XIV 12 (AD 450); even though Oxyrhynchus was the metropolis of Arcadia (see LI 3636 2 n.), the *praeses* stayed at Heracleopolis, at least temporarily, in the exercise of his office, see XVI 1878 as revised in LI p. 48. The praesidial lodging, τοῦ ἀρχοντικοῦ καταγωγίου, at Heracleopolis is specifically mentioned in SB VI 9152. 9 (AD 492) and is alluded to in CPR V 17. 8, see the note there on τὴν ἀρχοντικὴν πλαγίαν. This praesidial lodging is analogous to the earlier *palatia* and *praetoria* to be found probably in all the main cities of Egypt and specifically attested for Antinoopolis, Arsinoe, Hermopolis, Oxyrhynchus, Panopolis, see A. Łukaszewicz, *Les édifices publics* 177-8, and Memphis, see LV 3788 4.

*Quaestionarii* are attested in the *officia* of provincial governors, see most conveniently Ramsay MacMullen, *Soldier and Civilian* 66-7. Those previously attested at Oxyrhynchus were probably from the staff of the *praeses Arcadiae*, like the present ones, see SB I 2253. 5, τοῖς κεκωναρίοις (Byzantine), and XVI 2050 2, κεκωνάρ(οι) (sixth century), both in lists of supplies or entitlements to allowances in kind. The Hermopolite landholder described a *κεκωναρίου* in P. Herm. Landl. G 147 (p. 32), F 366 (p. 75) (mid fourth century), is most likely to have been on the staff of the *praeses Thebaïdos*. For the function of *quaestionarii* as judicial torturers see 9-10 n. In the present text *primicerii quaestionariorum* appear for the first time; they would have been the highest ranking members of their section (*schola*).

χμγ  
 + μετὰ τὴν ὑπατείαν  
 Φλαουίου Εὐσεβίου τοῦ  
 λαμπροτάτου τὸ β', Φαμεν' ὡ' θ β  
 5 β' ἰνδικ(τίωος) ἐν Ὁξυρύνχων πόλει.  
 Φλάουιοι Σεργῆνος υἱὸς  
 Ἄνουβίωνος καὶ Πτολεμαῖος  
 υἱὸς Φοιβάμμωνος ἀπὸ τῆς  
 Ἡρακλεοπολιτῶν πριμικύριοι  
 10 τῶν κνεσσιωναρίων τάξεως  
 ἡγεμονίας ἐπαρχίας Ἀρκαδίας  
 ἐνδημοῦντες ἐνταῦθα τῇ λαμπρᾷ  
 καὶ λαμπροτάτῃ Ὁξυρυνχιτῶν πόλει  
 Αὐρηλίω Θεοδώρῳ [νίῳ τ]οῦ [τ]ῆς  
 15 εὐλαβοῦς μνήμης Μ[εγάλου τοῦ  
 καὶ Διδύ[μο]υ νομικ[αρί]ου ἀπὸ  
 τῆς Ὁξυρυνχιτῶν [πόλεως

5 ἰνδικ" 9 I. πριμικύριοι 10 I. κνεσσιωναρίων

'After the 2nd consulship of Flavius Eusebius, *uir clarissimus*, Phamenoth 12, 2nd indiction, at Oxyrhynchus.'

'The Flavii Serenus son of Anubion and Ptolemaeus son of Phoebammon, from Heracleopolis, *primicerii* of the *quaestionarii* of the praesidial office of the province of Arcadia, who are staying here in the splendid and most splendid city of the Oxyrhynchites, to Aurelius Theodorus son of Megas also called Didymus of discreet memory, *nomiciarius*, from Oxyrhynchus ...'

<sup>1</sup> χμγ. Cf. 4008 : n.

2-3 See R. S. Bagnall, etc., *The Consuls of the Later Roman Empire* 523, cf. 513, 525, 527.

9-10 πριμικύριοι τῶν κνεσσιωναρίων (I. πριμικύριοι τῶν κνεσσιωναρίων). The iotacism in *primicerii* is of a not uncommon type, see F. T. Gignac, *Grammar* i 264-5; the transliteration of *quaestionarius* seems to have given trouble, since the expected *κνεσσιωνάριος* has not yet appeared. Instead *qu* is represented by *κν* here as in XVI 2050 2 *κνεσσιωνάρ(ιοι)* and in P. Herm. Landl. G 147 (p. 32), F 366 (p. 75) *κνεσσιωνάριου*, while *u* is omitted in SB I 2253. 5 *κνεσσιωνάριος*, cf. Gignac, op. cit. i 225-6, esp. §5(f), *ae* is represented by *ε*, cf. *ibid.* 192-3; *st* is reduced to *ε*, a phenomenon which is not uncommon, cf. P. Petaus 10. 6 n.; here *i* is retained correctly as *iota*, but in the other places it is lost, as frequently before a back vowel, cf. *ibid.* 304.

The *primicerii* of the *quaestionarii* have not occurred before, but perhaps that is not surprising when the *quaestionarii* themselves are so rare; they were presumably at the top of their section of the praesidial staff, cf. XVI 1901 80 πριμικύριος σχολῆς πραικόνων, P. Mert. II 95. 3 π. τῶν εγγουλαρίων, P. Mich. XIV 683. 1, 3, 4 π. τῶν ἐξεπετόρων. It seems more surprising that they are in the plural; usually a *primicerius* in the head of his section or of the whole *officium*, see e.g. A. H. M. Jones, *The Later Roman Empire* i 599.

Not very much is known about *quaestionarii*: they are attested as members of the *officia* of provincial governors, see Ramsay MacMullen, *Soldier and Civilian* 66-7, and as *principales* in the legions, see D. J. Breeze,

*Bonner Jahrbücher* 174 (1974) 275, R. Cagnat in C. Daremberg, G. Saglio, *Dictionnaire des antiquités* IV i 797. Cagnat is reluctant to call them simply torturers, but this was at least a popular perception, cf. G. Goetz, *Corpus Glossariorum Latinorum* II 256. 11 *questionarius* βακάνων ὑπηρέτης, II 591. 6 *qu. plagarius, flagellator, plagitor* (I. *plagator?*), V 623. 54 *qu. qu(a)estitor qui praestit praeficiendis* (I. *perfic-*) *qu(a)estiomibus*, cf. V 326. 46 *qu(a)estioni: inquisitioni cum tormentis*; more vivid is the bilingual text with an account of a schoolboy's day followed by another of business in the forum, see A. C. Dionisotti, *JRS* 72 (1982) 105 '... *consensit iudex tribunal et sic uoce praecoms iubet sisti personas. reus sistitur, latro interrogatur, secundum merita torquetur, quaestionarius pulsat ei pectus, uexatur, suspenditur † crescit † flagellatur, fustibus uapulatur, pertransit ordinem tormentorum, et adhuc negat. puniendus est, perit poena, ducitur ad gladium*'. The Greek for *questionarius* here is βαζανητής, a version of *βακανητής*. The original text probably goes back to the fourth century, see *ibid.* pp. 123-5. Note too H. Delehaye, *Les Martyrs d'Égypte* 191 (ch. 14) ἀρπαγεία δὲ ὑπὸ τῶν κνεσσιωναρίων ἀνηρήθη καὶ ἐξέετο. These torturers were attributed by the author of the martyrdom to the staff of Satrius Arrianus, *praeses* of the Thebaïd c. AD 305-7.

12-13 τῇ λαμπρᾷ καὶ λαμπροτάτῃ. This title of Oxyrhynchus disappears, as D. Hagedorn has shown, *ZPE* 12 (1973) 285-6, with note 31, rather abruptly at the beginning of the sixth century, the latest attestations being in XVI 1960 5 (AD 511) and P. Lond. V 1797 (AD 516?).

14-16 For Theodorus see *ibid.*

14-15 [τ]ῆς εὐλαβοῦς μνήμης. This phrase is typical of church officials, cf. LVIII 3958 12-13 n.

16 νομικ[αρί]ου. On the duties of this official see the introduction to 3985.

H. MAEHLER

### 3987. NOMINATION OF A PROTODEMOTES

65 6B.36/H(1-2)a

35 × 14.5 cm

21 March 532(?)

The upper left-hand corner and the lower part of the sheet have been torn off; the remainder is well preserved with parts of the left, upper and right margins. There are two vertical *kolleseis* (6. 8 K<sup>1</sup> 18. 3 K<sup>2</sup> 9. 8). The hand is a small upright cursive comparable with the first hand of 1130 (New Palaeographical Society, Ser. II, pl. 3, R. Seider, *Paläographie der griechischen Papyri* i No. 53). On the verso is a docket in two lines along the fibres in a similar but larger script.

The representatives of the guild of *λευκανταί*, in response to a request by the *praeses*, nominate one of their number to serve as *πρωτοδημότης* for the coming indiction year. A *λευκαντής* is a bleacher of linen, see H. C. Youtie, *ZPE* 22 (1976) 63-8, cf. LIV 3743, 3752; in Modern Greek the word refers to textile workers who bleach cloth or wool, see Dimitrakos, *Mega Lexikon* s.v. That they formed a guild was already known from P. Merton II 95, where a *πρωτοδημότης* addresses the secretaries of their guild, called an *ἐργακία*: on the term *ἐργακία* see R. S. Bagnall in P. Rainer Cent. p. 423, n. 6, who says that from the fifth century *ἐργακία* largely superseded *κοινόν*. In our text, however, *κοινόν* (2) denotes the guild, *ἐργακία* (7) the occupation. What the *πρωτοδημότης* is or does is unfortunately not clear, see 7 n.

The loss of the beginnings of the first five lines has made it impossible for us to know to whom the present text was addressed, i.e., whom the representatives of the

guild notified of the nomination, see 2 n. The representatives may have been the secretaries (κεφαλαιωται) of the guild; in 14 the subscription of only one of them survives, Aurelius Isak; the rest has broken off.

+ ύπατείας Φλαουίων Ὀρέστου καὶ Ἀβιηνοῦ τῶν λα]μπροτάτων,  
 Φαμενωθ̄ κ̄ε, ἰνδικ(τίωνος) ι, ἐν Ὁξυρύνχ(ων) πόλει.  
 35-40 letters ταύ]της τῆς λαμπράς Ὁξυρύνχ(ων) πόλεως  
 παρὰ τοῦ κοινοῦ  
 τῶν λευκαντῶν τῆς αὐτῆς Ὁξυρύνχ(ων) πόλεως]ς δι' ἡμῶν τῶν  
 παρόντων καὶ ἐξῆς ὑπογραφόντων  
 c. 20 letters ἀναδεχομένων καὶ τοῦς] ἡμῶν ὁμοέργου  
 ἐμμένοντας σὺν ἡμῖν τοῖς ἐξῆς ὑποτετα-  
 5 γμέ]υ[ο]:[ε]. [. . . ] c. 20 letters προστ]άγματος τοῦ τὰ πάντα  
 μεγαλοπρεπεστάτου καὶ σοφωτάτου κοινοῦ  
 ἡμῶν ἄρχοντος ἐμφαν[ε]σθέντος ἡμ[ῖν c. 15 letters ]φιας  
 παρακελεύομενον καὶ ἡμᾶς τοὺς πληροῦντας  
 τὴν ἐργασίαν τῶν λευκαντῶν προβολὴν ποιήσασθαι τοῦ ὀφίλουτος ἐξ  
 ἡμῶν ὑπείσελθεῖν τὸ τοῦ πρωτοδημότου  
 φρόντισμα ἐπὶ τῆς εὐτυχοῦς ἐνδεκάτης ἐπιμετήσεως, τοῦ καιροῦ  
 ἐνεστηκότος φόβῳ δουλεύοντες τοῖς περὶ τούτου  
 φοβερῶς προστεταγμένοι ὑφ' ἐν γενόμενοι καὶ μιᾶς κρατήσαντες  
 γνώμης ἐπιλεξάμενοι ὀνομάζομεν καὶ εἰσαγγέλλομεν  
 10 ἰδίῳ ἡμῶν κινδύνῳ καὶ τιμῆματι Ἀυρήλιον Θεόδωρον υἱὸν Μαξίμου  
 ὁμότεχνον ἡμῶν ἐκ τῆς ἡμετέρας πόλεως  
 ὀρμώμενον πρωτοδημότην ἱκανὸν ὄντα δυνάμενον τὴν τοιαύτην  
 ἐγχειρισθεῖσαν αὐτῷ παρ' ἡμῶν τοῦ ὑ' πρωτοδημότ]ου  
 λειτουργεῖαν ἐξανύσαι ἐπὶ τῆς μνημονευθείσης ἐνδεκάτης ἐπιμετήσεως  
 προσηκόντως, ὃν καὶ ἐξεγγυώμενοι  
 ἐπὶ ἱκανότητι ἐπιζητούμεν[ον . . . ] . . . ὡγαμεν κ[αὶ] παραδώσομεν ἐξ  
 ἀλληλεγγύης ἐν δημοσίῳ τόπῳ. κυρία ἡ ὀνομασία  
 ἀπλή (?) γραφεῖσα καὶ ἐπερωτηθέντες ὁμολογήσαμεν. m. 2 Α]υρήλιος  
 Ἰσάκ υἱ[ὸ]ς Ἰωάννου λευκ[αντ]ῆς . . . . [

Back, downwards along the fibres:

15 (m. 1?) ] ὄνομ(ασία) Θεοδ[ώρου  
 ]. Ὁξυρύνχ( ) γενομ(εν) . [

1 ἰνδικ[ε]ν, ὀξυρύνχ	3 ὑπογραφόντων	4 ὑποτετα	5 l. σοφωτάτου	7 l. ὀφίλουτος;
ὑπείσελθεῖν	9 ὑφ	10 ἰδίῳ, υἱὸν	11 ἱκανὸν	12 l. λειτουργεῖαν
14 υἱ[ο]ς	15 ὀνομ	16 ὀξυρύνχ(ων) γενομ		13 ἱκανότητι

(In the consulship of Flavius Orestes and Flavius Avienus, *uiri clarissimi*, Phamenoth 25, 10th indiction, in Oxyrhynchus. (To NN *magistrate*) of this splendid city of the Oxyrhynchites, from the guild (of the bleachers of the same city of Oxyrhynchus), represented by us who are present and whose subscriptions follow below, (...who pledge also) our colleagues who abide, together with us, by what is set out below. (Having received from you a copy?) of the edict of our in all matters most magnificent and most wise common *praeses*, which has been brought to our notice (through a letter in your own hand?), which orders us who carry out the trade of bleachers to make a proposal of one of our number who is due to enter the charge of *protodemotes* during the auspicious eleventh indiction, as now the time has come, we, in fear and obedience to what has been authoritatively decreed in this respect, having come to an accord and a unanimous decision, have chosen and nominate and announce at our own risk and liability Aurelius Theodoros son of Maximus, a colleague of ours coming from our city, as a suitable *protodemotes*, able to carry out the said liturgy of *protodemotes* that we have entrusted to him for the aforementioned eleventh indiction as it fitting, and we vouch for his suitability and when he is requested we shall . . . and produce him under mutual surety in a public place. The nomination, written in one copy (or more?), is valid, and in answer to the formal question we gave our assent.'

(2nd hand) 'I, Aurelius Isak son of Ioannes, bleacher, ...'

1 As the handwriting suggests a date in the later fifth or the earlier sixth century, Phamenoth 25 of a tenth indiction year could be 21 March 457, 472, 487, 502, 517, or 532. Of these years 532 is the only one where two *clarissimi* (λαμπρότατοι) appear as consuls at the right time of year; hence the restoration given in the text, which seems to fit the space. The consuls of 502, Probus and Avienus, appear in the papyri as a pair only towards the end of the year. Earlier Probus, the eastern consul, is mentioned alone, see R. S. Bagnall, *APF* 29 (1983) 30, id. et al., *The Consuls of the Later Roman Empire* 539.

2 Who is the addressee of this text? The deeds of surety P. Strassb. I 46-51 (AD 566) are addressed τῇ δημοσίᾳ ἀγορᾷ ἢ τῷ δημοσίῳ λόγῳ of Antinoe, represented by the town clerk (ἀρχιπυργετής). In our text, however, a supplement along these lines would be too long for the available space which seems sufficient for a name and one or two titles. The ἐγγύη P. Laur. II 27 (AD 487-91) is addressed to Φλ. Ἐδδοχίῳ . . . πρωτεύοντι τῆς [Ἀρκενοῦτων πόλεως], and in Stud. Pal. XX 128 the same official is concerned with a problem arising from an ἐγγύη. πρωτεύων is not an official title but a general and informal designation of the highest dignity representing the city, cf. XVI 1983 2-4, Stud. Pal. XX 146, and the editor's note on Pap. Lugd. Bat. XIII 13, 1.

2-3 παρὰ τοῦ κοινοῦ [τῶν λευκαντῶν τῆς αὐτῆς Ὁξυρύνχ(ων) πόλεως]ς would fill the space.

3 παρόντων καὶ ἐξῆς ὑπογραφόντων: guilds seem to have had two κεφαλαιωται, so they may be the guild's representatives here. This would appear likely if we knew that there was only one other subscription after that of Aurelius Isak (14). If so, one could supply, e.g. [τοῦ κοινοῦ κεφαλαιωτῶν ἀναδεχομένων καὶ τοῦς] at the beginning of line 4.

5 In the next line παρακελεύομενον suggests a noun (neuter or masc. accusative) with which [προστ]άγματος could be connected, e.g. δεξάμενοι παρὰ σου ἀντίγραφον προστ]άγματος κτλ.

5 ἄρχοντος: the *praeses*, see XVI 1829 2 n.

6 ἐμφαν[ε]σθέντος ἡμ[ῖν] διὰ τῆς εἰς ἰδιογρα]φίας?

6-7 τοὺς πληροῦντας τὴν ἐργασίαν τῶν λευκαντῶν presumably means 'those who fulfil, i.e. exercise, the trade of bleachers', rather than 'those who fill, i.e. make up the number of, the guild of bleachers', since the guild is called κοινόν, not ἐργασία, in line 2.

<sup>7</sup> πρωτοδημότου. This title has occurred in few documents: XIV 1730 4 (IV), XXVII 2480 18 (VI), Stud. Pal. XX 227, 11 (VI/VII), P. Merton II 95, 2 (where the editors translate 'chief of the ward'). The present text makes it clear that it was a liturgy of one year's duration. The wording of this line seems to suggest that each guild had to nominate one of its members for the liturgy; it seems possible, however, that not every guild had to do this every year, but that they took turns.

A. D. E. Cameron, *Circus Factions* 42 points out that Latin *populus*, with which he equates δῆμος (43-4), is the standard term for the rank and file members of a guild, which explains the use of the term πρωτοδημότης in this case for what is evidently a representative of the guild of λευκανταί. What remains to be discovered is the context in which he represented it.

<sup>11</sup> ἐγγχειρωθείσαν. The liturgy has been 'entrusted' to Theodorus by his colleagues. PSI XII 1265 and P. Rainer Cent. 122 are examples of nominations of guild members by their colleagues. The κοινόν of the villagers in 3985 operated on a similar pattern.

<sup>12</sup> ἐξεγγυώμενοι. This verb is not otherwise attested in the papyri.

H. MAEHLER

## IV. PRIVATE LETTERS

## 3988. BESARION TO HIERACION

18 2B.66/A(1-3)b

10 × 16 cm

Second century?

Besarion writes from Alexandria to Hieracion, his 'brother', that is, to a man of roughly the same age and status as himself, cf. LV 3813-15 introd., and note 3992 2, 34, where the recipient is 'brother' in the prescript and 'friend' in the address. Hieracion evidently resided in Oxyrhynchus or its neighbourhood. Besarion reports that he tried to deliver a letter to a man called Valerius, who had left Alexandria on the very same day as Besarion arrived. He left the letter to be forwarded to Valerius, who was expected to return to Oxyrhynchus and tell his own story to Hieracion.

Besarion also reports the successful delivery of something to an unnamed poet in Alexandria; a patch of damage prevents us from knowing what it was. This literary touch comes from a writer whose writing is clear but not fluent, and certainly not elegant, and whose spelling and morphology are characteristic of the colloquial Greek of the period, see commentary. Presumably this was Besarion himself rather than a professional scribe; note that the farewell, line 20, is in the same hand as the rest. The letters are rarely ligatured and rather clumsily formed; there are frequent alterations of one letter to another. Such hands are difficult to date; in the absence of definite early or late features this one may be assigned tentatively to the second century, without excluding either the late first or the early third.

A sheet-join running vertically very close to the right edge shows that the writing runs along the fibres of the recto of the roll from which the piece for the letter was cut. A damaged address in one, or possibly two, lines runs downwards along the fibres of the back. Its position, about 2.5 cm from the edge which is the right hand one as viewed from the front, shows that the letter was rolled up from the left hand edge, contrary to the usual practice, which imitated that of longer rolls; they put the right edge inside so that the first column comes into view as soon as the closed roll begins to be unrolled. Our letter was then squashed flat, the exposed right hand edge was tucked inside to protect it, and a centrally placed binding was put round the resulting flat package. Then the address, in two sections divided by the binding, was written on one side and a saltire pattern was inked over the binding so that any tampering with it would be detectable.

Βησαρίων Ἰερακίων[ι] τῷ ἀδελ-  
φῷ πλείστα χαίρειν. πρὸ μὲν πάν-  
των εὐχομαί σε ὑγιαίνειν. εὐθέ-  
ως παραγενάμενος ἐν Ἀλεξαν-  
δρεία πρὸς τὸν Οὐαλέριον ἀπέλ-

5



θα καὶ λέγουσί μοι σήμερον  
 αὐτὸν ἐγδεδημηκαίνα. ἔλα-  
 βαν τὸ ἐπ[ι]τὸλον ὡς ἵνα αὐτῶ  
 πέμψω[ι εἰς] τὴν χώραν. τὸ  
 10 λοιπὸν γγ[ώ]σῃ παρ' αὐτοῦ. ἄσ-  
 πασαι Ἀπα[.] καὶ . . . . . αν καὶ  
 Διόδωρον καὶ τοὺς ἐν οἴκῳ πάντας.  
 καὶ τῶ ποιετῆ ἀναδέδωκα  
 . . . . . ]τ[. . . . .]κς. (vac.)  
 15 καὶ περὶ ὧν χρεῖαν ἔχει  
 γράψον μ[οι]. τοῦ Σεράπιδος  
 θέλοντο[ς] κομφῶς ἔσχον  
 καὶ τὸ προ[κ]ύνημά σου ἐποί-  
 ησα, ὡς εἶπον, καὶ πάντων.  
 20 ἔρρωσ.

Back, downwards along the fibres:

\* ἀπὸ Βησαρίωνος (design) Ἱερακίωσι . . .

5 πρόσ: π corr. from α; I. Ουαλέριον; ἀπελ.: λ corr. (from c?) 5-6 I. ἀπήλλα 7 I. ἐκδεδημηκέναι  
 8 I. ἐπιστόλιον; αὐτῶ: υ corr. 12 Διόδωρον; δ corr.: οἴκω: κ corr. 16 Σεράπιδος: ε corr. from α  
 18 προ[κ]ύνημα: μ corr. (from α?) 20 I. ἔρρωσ

'Besarion to Hieracion, his brother, very many greetings. Before all else I pray for your health. As soon as I got to Alexandria I went off to Valerius, but they tell me that today he has left town. They accepted the letter, so as to send it to him in the country. The rest you will learn from him. Greet ... and ... and Diodorus and everyone in the household. I have also delivered to the poet ... 26 (or 26th?). Do write to me about whatever you need. By the will of Serapis I have been pretty comfortable and I made obeisance for you, as I said, and for everyone. Farewell!'

Back: 'From Besarion to Hieracion ...'

4 παραγενάμενος. On the replacement of the second aorist endings by those of the first, which is frequent, see F. T. Gignac, *Grammar* ii 335-345; for this verb esp. 344. Cf. below 5-6, 7-8 nn.

5 Ουαλέριον, cf. ἐπ[ι]τὸλον (8). See Gignac ii 25-9. He views the phenomenon as a new declension in -ι/-ιν, -ίου, -ίω, -ίω, -ίω, see esp. 28-9, rather than a strictly phonetic simplification of -ιος and -ίω.

5-6 ἀπέλλα = ἀπήλλα. Interchange of η and ε (or αι) is attested, see Gignac i 242-9, but there is no example of its occurrence in these precise conditions, i.e. accented and before a liquid, see *ibid.* 243-4. Perhaps the writer had another wording in mind at first, e.g. ἀπελθὼν πρὸς τὸν Ουαλέριον ἐργων ... For the first aorist ending cf. 4 n.

7 ἐγδεδημηκαίνα = ἐκδεδημηκέναι. Both phonetic changes are common: for assimilation of κ to γ before δ see Gignac i 174, cf. 3989 6-7 n., for αι = ε *ibid.* 193.

7-8 ἔλαβαν. Cf. 4 n.

8 ἐπ[ι]τὸλον. Cf. 5 n.  
 ὡς ἵνα. Double conjunctions are not uncommon in the papyri, cf. H. C. Youtie, *ZPE* 23 (1976) 109 n. line 8; for this one cf. SB VIII 9699. 11 (AD 78/9), P. Petaus 26. 3-4 (AD 184-7), P. Mich. VIII 505. 4 (II/III), PSI XIV 1421. 4 (III), P. Ant. II 93. 6 (IV), SB XIV 12085. 9 (V), XVI 1936 15 (VI/VII), PSI XIII 1345. 6 (VI/VII), P. Apoll. 63. 7 (VIII).

9 χώραν. For this sense of the word, meaning Egypt as the hinterland of Alexandria and contrasted with it, see U. Wilcken, *Grundzüge* 34.

13 ποιετῆ. Cf. PSI IV 388. 13, 19, 38 (244/3 BC), OGIS I 51. 31, 34, 37 (III BC), BGU XIV 2433. 5; 2434. 31 (I BC), SB I 595 (II), SB VIII 10068. 3 (II/III), P. Oslo III 189. 13 (III), XXII 2338 *passim* (AD 261/2-288/9; revised by R. A. Coles, *ZPE* 18 (1975) 199-204), SB XIV 11929. 5 (AD 348). For poetic contests in Graeco-Roman Egypt see P. M. Fraser, *JEA* 45 (1959) 80. The young poets of 2338 competed at Naucratis, see R. A. Coles *loc. cit.*

13-14. It is not quite clear whether what was delivered to the poet was a letter, as often with this verb, or possibly money. In the first case the number at the end of 14 might be the date of delivery, the 26th of some month, in the second it might be the amount.

16-19 For the practice of the obeisance see G. Geraci, *Aegyptus* 51 (1971) 3-211, esp. 172-9 for Sarapis as the god especially associated with Alexandria.

20 ἔρρωσ = ἔρρωσ. Cf. Gignac i 275-7 for interchange of ο and ω, which is very frequent, cf. 3989 6 n. 21 ἀπὸ Βησαρίωνος cf. 3991 32, 3992 34. Much more common in addresses is παρὰ. F. Ziemann, *De epistularum Graecarum formulis* 280, says that ἀπὸ so used occurs especially in the letters of the uneducated, but this is not a sufficient explanation. In particular 3992 seems not to be the letter of a totally uneducated person.

21-2 The traces are very scanty. In 22, where a strip of verso fibres is lost, it is not clear whether the writing might have extended further to the right. We rather expect ἀελεφῶ somewhere here, see 1-2, but it has not been recognized.

H. G. IOANNIDOU

### 3989. LYCARION TO PLUTARCHUS

47 5B.46/C(3-4)a

16.5 x 21.5 cm

Second century

Lycarion, a former gymnasiarch of Oxyrhynchus, writes to Plutarchus, a priest, entirely about business matters, the sale of non-laying pigeons, the manufacture of a new boat, and the successful sale of wine. Apart from this there is only the exchange of greetings.

The hand is a neat, fluent, cursive, sloping slightly to the right, and bearing enough resemblance to W. Schubart, *Papyri Graecae Berlinenses* No. 23 (AD 144) and No. 26a (AD 159/60) to be assigned with reasonable confidence to the second century.

The pattern of damage and the position of the address on the back show that the letter was packaged to be sent in the normal way, that is, it was rolled up with the right edge inside and squashed flat; the exposed left edge was tucked inside to protect it; the flat package was tied with a binding round the middle, over which a design was inked—on one side of the package only in this case—and the address was written along the fibres, downwards in relation to the letter, in two halves separated by the binding.

Λυκαρίων Πλουτάρχωι τῶι

up to 20 letters χ]α[ίρει]ν.

traces of two lines

- 5 περιξετραί μὴ τίκτωσι πρῆθησαν.  
ἔγραψέν μοι Σαραπᾶς ὅπως ὄφ[ε]λεν ἔγδο-  
θῆναι πάκ[τ]ωνα καινόν. εὐθέως οὖν ἔγδος.  
τὰ δὲ μέτρ[α τ]ο[ῦ π]άκτωνος Σαραπᾶς σοι ἔρει.  
10 ὄρα οὖν μὴ [ἀμ]ελή[σῃ]ς, ἐπεὶ χρεία ἐστὶν αὐ-  
τοῦ εἰς τ[ὸ χ]ῶ[μ]α τὸ περὶ Ποσομποῦς τῷ και-  
ρῷ τῆς ὑδροφυλακίας. καλῶς ἐποίησας  
τὸν ὄνον ἐμπ[ο]ρ[ι]κῶς πωλήσας καὶ μὴ κο-  
τυλίσας. ἀπάξου τὰ παιδία σου καὶ τὴν  
ἀδελφήν. [ἀ]παύξεται ὑμᾶς Ἀπολλωνία.  
15 ἔρρωσθαί σε εὐχόμεαι, τιμῶ-  
τάτα.  
ἔρρ[ωσο. Φα]με[νὼ]θ κᾶ.

Back, downwards along the fibres:

(m. 1?) Πλουτάρχωι ἱερεῖ φίλωι (design) <παρὰ> Λυκαρίωνος  
γυμνασιάρχῃ(σαντος) Ὁξυρ(υγχιτών).

6 I. ὄφειλεν, ἐκδο- 7 I. ἔκδος 18 ἱερεῖ; γυμνασιάρχῃοξυρ (no mark)

'Lycarion to Plutarchus ..., greetings. ... (if?) the pigeons are not laying, they are to be sold. Sarapas wrote me that a new boat should be put out to contract. So put it out right away. Sarapas will tell you the measurements. See that you are not negligent, because there is need of it for the dyke at Posompoys at the season of the water control. You did well to sell the wine wholesale and not piecemeal. Greet your children and sister. Apollonia greets you. I pray for your health, my valued friend.'

'Farewell! Phamenoth 21st.'

Back: (1st hand?) 'To Plutarchus, priest, friend, from(?) Lycarion ex-gymnasiarch of the Oxyrhynchites.'

2-4 There is no obvious explanation for the faintness of the remains of writing in these three lines, where the surface damage does not look particularly severe. The traces of χ]α[ίρει]ν are minimal, but the remains in 3-4 are extensive enough to show that the letter proper began with line 3 and that the prescript ended with 2. In 2 we need something to go with the dative article in 1, e.g. φίλω or ἱερεῖ, cf. 18, or τιμωσάτω, cf. 15-16. There were probably spaces between the words as in 1, so that it is unlikely that it has lost as many as the twenty letters for which there might be room. Before χ]α[ίρει]ν, which is inevitable however the traces are identified, something like πολλά or πλείστα might have intervened.

6 ὅπως. Cf. LSJ s.v. A.II, 'sometimes used to introduce the substance of a statement'.

ὄφ[ε]λεν = ὄφειλεν. Cf. 3988 20 n., F. T. Gignac, *Grammar* ii 232.

6-7 ἔγδοθῆναι = ἐκδοθῆναι, ἔγδος = ἐκδος. Cf. 3988 7 n.

The meaning of ἐκδῶμι here seems to be 'give out to contract', that is, a new boat was to be ordered from a boatbuilder. The clearest parallel appears in connection with the clothing levy required from the weavers by the government, see P. Phil. 10. 17-21 (duplicated in BGU VII 1572. 13-16), ὅπως τὸν ἐγδομένον ἱματιῶν ἀπαρτίσωμεν καὶ παραδώμεν καὶ μάλιστα ὅτι ἐπικεῖται ἡμῖν ἐτέρου δημοσίου ἱματιοῦ ἔγδοσις, ἢ πάλιν ἡμᾶς ἀπαρτίσαι δεήσει, '... so that we may complete and deliver the clothing given out to contract, especially because there has been imposed on us a contract for another state clothing levy, which it will again be necessary for us to complete'. Cf. P. Coll. Youtie I 16. 29a-30a n., on δημόσια ἱμάτια. A clear instance in a private context is given by SB XVI 12694. 3. Other probable, but less clear, instances are VIII 1153 26, XXXI 2593 17-21, XLIX 3507 28-9, P. Fuad I Univ. 10. 10.

7 πάκ[τ]ωνα. Cf. LVI 3866 2 n. for this type of boat.

10 τ[ὸ χ]ῶ[μ]α. Although very little ink survives, the restoration is suggested by the very frequent references to ὑδροφυλακία χωμάτων, e.g. P. Fuad I Univ. 21. 23, IV 729 7, XIV 1700 17, XLIX 3498 30, LI 3638 24, LII 3690 16, P. Wisc. I 9. 26.

Ποσομποῦς. Cf. P. Pruneti, *I centri abitati* 153-4. The genitive Ποσομποῦς implies that *ou* is not a diphthong, but the declension seems to vary.

τῷ καιρῷ τῆς ὑδροφυλακίας. This presumably refers to the inundation period, beginning ideally in mid-July, when the dykes were in special need of guarding. The letter is dated to 17 March, see 17. On private ὑδροφύλακες see M. Schnebel, *Die Landwirtschaft* 63-4, and the present passage looks as if it concerns a private matter, although there was a liturgy described in the same terms, see N. Lewis, *The Compulsory Public Services* (Pap. Flor. XI) 50.

12 ἐμπ[ο]ρ[ι]κῶς. Cf. Strabo 8. 6. 16 *ad fin.*, writing of Aegina: ἐμπορίων γὰρ γενέσθαι διὰ τὴν λυπρότητα τῆς χώρας, τὰν ἀνθρώπων θαλαττοτρογούντων ἐμπορικῶς. This word fits the traces very well and, though it is not perfectly parallel with the Strabo passage, it can reasonably be taken to mean simply 'wholesale' in antithesis to κοτυλίσας, 'selling by the pint', cf. W. Chr. 311 (= P. Amh. II 92). 6-7, Stud. Pal. XXII 177. 25; oil is concerned in both cases; the noun κοτυλιμῶς also occurs in Stud. Pal. XXII 177. 23-4, 34; in P. Ryl. IV 692. 4 its restoration seems dubious. For κοτυλίζω in a more general sense, 'sell retail, sell piecemeal' see Arist. *Oec.* 1347b. 7-8 τοῖς δὲ δὴ ἐμποροῦς καλῶς εἶχε μὴ κοτυλίζω, ἀλλ' ἀθρόα τὰ φορτία πεπεράσθαι; St. Byz. 338. 5-6 πωλοῦσι δὲ μόνους τοῖς ἐμποροῦς ἀθρόα τὰ φορτία παρὰ τῶν τεχνιτῶν ἀγοράζοντες αὐτὰ κατ' ἀλίγα καὶ κοτυλίζουσι τοῖς ἐγχωρίοις.

17 The repetition of the farewell is unexpected. One might have understood it, if the hand seemed to be that of the sender contrasting with the script of an amanuensis who wrote the letter, but the line does not really seem to be in a second hand. The initial epsilon is not like that of ἔρρωσθαι (15), but it is quite like the one in τιμώσασθε (15-16) and there is no perceptible change of hand or ink.

The date is equivalent to 17 March. It is not usual to specify the year in private letters later than the first century, but we might just envisage the possibility that ἔρρωσο was abbreviated enough to leave room for a regnal year number without the name of the emperor.

18 The address is written in a large upright clear hand and in a much more formal style, as is usually the case. The writer would presumably be the same.

Although this wording could be translated as it stands, the usual formulas of addresses strongly recommend the insertion of <παρὰ> before the sender's name.

Lycarion, ex-gymnasiarch of Oxyrhynchus, is not recorded in P. J. Sijpesteijn, *Nouvelle liste des gymnasiarques*. Aurelius Lycarion, gymnasiarch designate, seemingly of Heracleopolis, in the period AD 282-4, see *ZPE* 20 (1976) 159-60, is irrelevant on account of date and place, nor has any record of a priest called Plutarchus yet been identified.

The design, which was drawn over the binding round the middle of the letter, see introd., was a saltire cut through the crossing by a horizontal line. The centre, which was on the missing binding, is now lost.

It is not clear how the final word was abbreviated, perhaps just by an oblique stroke, as often in abbreviations. There is a trace of ink at a high level to the right of the rho.

## 3990. ΤΟ ΑΡΙΑ

74/76(a)

10 × 20 cm

Second century

This informal letter to a woman is written across the fibres on the back of a fragment of an account of grain in artabas, with beginnings of 16 lines in a rapid cursive with many abbreviations. There is no sheet join to prove that the letter is on the verso, but the usual practice strongly suggests that the account is written on the recto of the original roll and that a piece was cut from the account so that the letter could be written on the blank back. In line 5 of the account there is a symbol for aruras. The general impression is that of an official register, rather than a private memorandum. There is no address, evidently because the bearer, who is mentioned in the letter (3-4, 16-20), did not need one.

The script of the letter is fluent and legible. It may be compared with W. Schubart, *Papyri Graecae Berolinenses* No. 23, particularly with the third hand, lines 22 ff.; that document is dated to AD 144, which allows us to assign the present one to the second century.

The sender, whose name is unfortunately lost in the only area of serious damage, seems to have been in a country district characterized by a dyke, in the company of a man from the region of Thebes. It is not clear whether they were connected with irrigation work on the dyke or with agricultural work in the neighbourhood. The bearer of the letter, who was also a Theban, was bringing bundles of vine prunings to the woman and was to receive money from her, perhaps in payment for them; he perhaps arrived, in company with others or another, in the boat which was to be handed over to a harbour guard, and the writer expected him to rejoin the other Theban and himself with bread and money sent by the woman. It is also mentioned that the letter carrier claimed to know about fishing, and that the writer wanted to receive information unspecified about the epistrategus.

This accumulation of tantalizing details without certain connections is typical of papyrus letters.

5-10 letters ] Ἀπίαι τῆι

ἀδελφ]ῆι χείρειν.

τῶ ἀναδιδό]γτι σοι τὸ ἐπιστόλιον Θη-

βα]ί[ω] δ[ός] (δραχμάς) κῶ δ'φειλομένας αὐ-

5 τῶ, κομσαμένη ἀγκάλας ἀμ-

πελίνας ᾱ. παραδότωσαν δὲ

τὴν σκάφην τῶ ὀρμοφύλακι

κὺν κώπαις β̄ καὶ κοντῶ

καὶ ἀρμένω. κατέσχον ἓνα Θη-

10 βαῖον ἐπὶ [τῶ] χώματι, ᾧ πέμψεις  
ἄρτων (δραχμάς) δ' καὶ ἡμῖν χαλκόν.  
ἀσπάζομαι Ζερῆνον τὸν ἀδελφὸν  
καὶ Πτολεμαῖον. περὶ τοῦ ἐπιστρατή-  
γου δῆλωσόν μοι. ἐρρώθαι  
15 εε εὔχομαι(αι), ἀδελφῆ.  
κόμισ[αι π]αρά τοῦ Θηβαίου κάκ-  
κον. ᾧν πρ[ό]τρεψαι ταχέως  
ἐλθεῖν, ἐπεὶ αὐτὸς ἐπὶ τῶ χώ-  
ματι μέλλε[ι] μένειν. φησὶ δὲ  
20 εἶδέναι καὶ ἰχθύας θήραν.

15 ευχο<sup>μ</sup>

<sup>1</sup>...to Apia his sister, greetings. Give the Theban bringing you the letter 24 drachmas, which are owing to him, when you have taken delivery of 16(?) vine bundles. They must hand over the boat to the harbour guard, with two oars and pole and sail. I kept one Theban at the dyke, to whom you are to send 4 drachmas' worth of loaves, and to us cash. I greet Serenus my brother and Ptolemaeus. Let me know about the epistrategus. I pray for your health, sister.

<sup>2</sup>Take delivery of a sack from the Theban. Tell him to set out quickly, since he is going to stay at the dyke himself. He says that he also knows about fishing.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Ten letters is about the maximum for the missing name of the sender; probably it was quite a short name followed by a blank as large as that between Ἀπίαι and τῆι, i.e. slightly under 1 cm.

<sup>2</sup> For ἀδελφ]ῆι cf. 15. The word must have been indented by about three or four letter spaces, which would be a normal layout. The relationship was not necessarily that of brother and sister, see 3988 introd.

<sup>3</sup> τῶ ἀναδιδό]γτι. This is a very common expression for the bearer of a letter, cf. e.g. P. Coll. Youtic II 88. 16, P. Harr. I 110. 3, 153. 7, P. Herm. 13. 5-6, P. Mich. VIII 515. 2, P. Mil. Vogl. III 201. 8-9, III 532 10-11, XIV 1770 15, XX 2275 5, XXXI 2577 5.

<sup>3-4</sup> Θη[βα]ί[ω]. Cf. 16 κόμισ[αι π]αρά τοῦ Θηβαίου... The writer had detained another man from Thebes, seemingly to work on or at a dyke: 9-10 κατέσχον ἓνα Θηβαῖον ἐπὶ [τῶ] χώματι, and the bearer of the letter was expected to join the other Theban in the same place quickly (16-19). The significance of the Theban origin of these workers is not clear. It is not necessary to conclude that the letter was sent from that area, and in fact it seems unlikely that the vine prunings of 5-6 would have been worth transporting from a place so far to the south. More probably the Thebans were migrant labourers, and villagers rather than metropolitans, working somewhere near Oxyrhynchus, cf. H. Braunert, *Binnenwanderung* 60 and n. 36.

<sup>5-6</sup> ἀγκάλας ἀμπελίνας. These appear to be bundles of prunings from the vines, see XLVII 3354 8-9, with translation and g n., although in editing XIV 1631 Grenfell and Hunt thought that ἀγκαιεμός καὶ δέσις (ἀγκ[αλῶν, cf. 3354 g n.) referred to the harvesting of reeds to serve as vine props, see 1631 g n. *ad fin.* (p. 20). Pruning is an important part of viticulture, see K. D. White, *Roman Farming* 239-40. In wood starved Egypt perhaps the vine prunings would be useful as fuel.

<sup>6</sup> ᾱ. The number is much damaged: the first upright is quite likely to be an iota = 10, but the second trace, which is the end of a highish horizontal slightly rising to the right, could represent α, γ, ε, 5, or θ. Of these gamma or sigma are best. For the translation the guess is 16, because it looks as if 24 drachmas may be the price of the bundles, which suggests an even number. On this doubtful guess a bundle cost one and a half drachmas.

<sup>6-7</sup> παραδότωσαν. The reason for the plural is not clear. A guess might be that the Theban was not alone when he arrived with the letter and that he and his companions travelled in the boat.

7 ὀρμοφύλακι. This official was a liturgist in the second and third centuries AD, see F. Oertel, *Die Liturgie* 269–70, N. Lewis, *The Compulsory Public Services* 41; cf. most lately P. Erasm. I 13. 2, the sole reference from the Ptolemaic period.

8–9 These details give a general idea of the boat, although the word *κκάφη* (7) already suggests that it was small, see L. Casson, *Ships and Seamanship* 330, 335–6. It could be powered by one man at the two oars, but it also had a sail (*ἄρμενον*) and a pole (*κοντός*). This word in boating contexts means a pole used for punting and fending off, see Casson, op. cit. 395, cf. 251 and n. 105. In the absence of specific mention of a mast it is not clear whether the sail was too small to need a timber big enough to merit the name of mast (*ἱερός*) or yard (*κέρας*), but could be set up on the all purpose pole, or whether *ἄρμενον*, which basically means 'tackle, gear', from *ἀραρίσκω*, really included the mast and rigging.

11 ἄρτων (*δραχμάς*) δ. In spite of some damage the sign for drachmas, as above in 4, seems a more convincing reading than e.g. ζ(εῖνη), although pairs of loaves are common. For '4 dr. (worth) of loaves' cf. e.g. SB VI 9026. 10–12 πέμψης ... ἐριοξύλου δραχμάς εἰκοσι, '... send 20 dr. (worth) of cotton'. For bread prices see A. C. Johnson, *Roman Egypt* 316. From the not too abundant evidence cited there it appears that a usual rate was 1 obol per loaf, so that dr. 4 would buy 24 loaves, or perhaps 28, if it was in the form of a silver tetradrachm.

χαλκόν. For 'bronze' = 'money' see WB s.v. χαλκός (4). The implication of this term rather than ἀργύριον might be that a small amount was wanted, small change in bronze fractions of the silver tetradrachm.

13–14 ἐπιτραπέζιον. On the office see J. D. Thomas, *The Roman Epistologos*. The implication of this brief instruction can hardly be guessed.

19–20 Fishing might be a useful skill ἐπὶ τῷ χώματι, since the dyke might well be next to a canal, but the relevance even of that is doubtful.

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### 3991. SARAPIAS TO ISCHYRION

47 5B.42/G(1–3)a

8 × 30.5 cm

Second/third century

Sarapias wrote to her 'brother', cf. 3988 introd., in happy anticipation of his arrival for a festival, which may be identifiable with one known at Oxyrhynchus for the month of Tybi, in which the letter is dated, see 6 n., 30–31. She tells him that she will put off sending him supplies which she had intended for him, and in the most interesting passage tells him that his mother has made him a cotton tunic. Cotton is very rarely mentioned in the papyri, although there is evidence that it was grown to some small extent in Egypt, see 14 n.

This tall narrow letter is written on a strip cut from a roll which contained a register. Of this there remain the ends of twenty-two lines with names and amounts of grain in artabas; the top and foot of the column are preserved and the writing, a fluent cursive of the late second or early third century, runs along the fibres of what was no doubt the recto of the roll, although no sheet join is preserved to prove it. In the top half of the right margin stands the address, written downwards across the fibres of the recto. The letter is written the same way up across the fibres of the verso and is virtually undamaged. Its clumsier cursive writing appears to be of much the same date as the register, although it must be later by at least a short period.

The position of the address and the patterns of folding, blotting and damage, show how the letter was packaged for dispatch. The bottom half was folded up over the top so as to conceal the letter, the central crease running through line 15. The doubled sheet was rolled up with the right edge of the letter inside, squashed flat, and left edge was tucked inside to protect it. At this stage the outside of the package was nearly blank, because the recto text too was concealed except for the ends of a few lines long enough to project into the margin. The package was then closed by a binding round the middle, on one side a design was inked over the binding and the address was written in two halves separated by the binding. The design was a simple saltire, its lines retraced two or three times. The removal of the binding has removed the centre of the design.

Σαραπιάς Ἰσχυρίωνι

τῷ ἀδελφῷ χαίρει(ω)

λείαν ἐχάρην κο-  
μισθέντων σου

5 τῶν γραμμάτων  
ὡς πρὸς τὴν ἑορτὴν  
ἐρχομένου σου πρὸς  
ἡμᾶς. πολλὰ δέ σοι  
ἐπιμήνι, ἃ ἐμέλ-

10 λομεν πέμπειν,  
ἐπέσχομεν προσ-  
δοκῶντες τ[ουτο] ἣν παροῦ'σίαν.  
τὸν χιτῶνά σοι τὸν  
ἐρίβ[ξ]υλον ἢ μήτηρ

15 σου κ[α]τεσκεύασε.  
ἐζητ[ο]ῦμεν [σοι] τὸν  
δυνάμενον κομίσει  
ἀσφαλῆ[ν]. ἀσπάζεται  
ἢ μήτηρ σου καὶ Σω-

20 θοῶνικ καὶ ὁ πατήρ  
σου. ἄσπασαι Ἐπαφρό-  
δειτον καὶ Δημήτριον(ν)  
καὶ Ἡρακλεῖδην.  
ἐν ἀγωνίᾳ ἔγεγό-

25 *νειμεν οὐ μεικρῶ,*  
*πολλῶ χρόνῳ*  
*μὴ κομισθέν-*  
*των σου γραμμά-*  
*των.*  
 30 *ἔρρωσο. Τύβι*  
*Ἰς.*

Back, downwards across the fibres:

ἀπὸ *Σαραπιάδο*·ς' (design) *Ἰσχυρίων*[ε].

2 *χαρῆ* 3 *Ι. λίαν* 21-2 *Ι. Σπαφρόδιτον* 25 *Ι. μικρῶ*

'Sarapias to Ischyriion her brother, greetings. I was overjoyed when your letter was brought, because you are coming to us for the festival. A lot of supplies for the month which we had intended to send we held back in expectation of your visit. Your mother made you the cotton tunic. We were looking for someone reliable who could deliver it. Your mother and Sinthōnīs and your father greet you. Greet Epaphroditus and Demetrius and Heracleides. We had been in no little anxiety because for a long time no letter of yours was delivered. Farwell. Tybi 16.'

Back. 'From Sarapias to Ischyriion.'

6 *πρός*. For this *εἰς*, 'for', see F. Blass, A. Debrunner, F. Rehkopf, *Grammatik*<sup>13</sup> 190 (§239. 7). *ἑορτήν*. In line 30-31 the letter is dated Tybi 16, 11 January, or 12 January in a leap year. There was a Greek festival connected with the gymnasium which took place c. Tybi 24, 19/20 January, see F. Perpillou-Thomas, 'La panégyrie au gymnase d'Oxyrhynchos', *CE* 61 (1986) 303-12, cf. LV 3812 18 n. This could well be the festival alluded to here.

9 *ἐπιμήνι*, *ἄ*. For this harsh elision cf. F. T. Gignac, *Grammar* i 317 para. d. 12 *τοῦτο* has been corrected to *τὴν παρουσίαν*; the end *-σίαν*, which is slightly below the original level of the line, is now extremely faint. We might expect also *σου*, but it does not seem to have been written. A large blot above the line just left of *ἡπαρου* looks like a botched first attempt at the correction; this and a smaller blot above line 9 were offset on top of lines 19 and 22 when the letter was folded horizontally, see introd.

14 *ἐριό[ξ]ύλον*. This is clearly regarded as an adjective \**ἐριόξυλος*, 'made of cotton'. In P. Mich. VIII 500. 7 *τὰ ἐριόξυλα* and SB VI 9026. 14-15 *τῶν ἐριόξυλων* might be plural of *ἐριόξυλον*, 'cotton'. On cotton in Graeco-Roman Egypt see most recently G. Wagner, *Les Oases d'Égypte* 291-3, incorporating the evidence of O. Douch I 51 of the fourth or fifth century AD, recording weights of cotton allocated to women. The plant was grown in southern Egypt (P. Iand. VII 142 ii 8, c. AD 164/5; Pliny, *NH* XIX 14, Pollux VII 75). The statement of Pollux that the cotton yarn was used as weft on a linen warp may receive support from two second century private letters, SB VI 9025. 31-2, where the writer says that she had not found a cotton tunic, but could have one made if her correspondent would send her the measurements and some warp, and SB VI 9026. 10-12 (cf. 14), where the writer asked for twenty drachmas worth of good cotton weft. On these letters see H. C. Youtie, *Scriptunculae Posteriores* ii 665-74 (= *AJP* 65 (1944) 249-58). The other references are P. Lond. III 928. 1 (p. 190; 3rd cent., see BL I 288), where the context is fragmentary, and P. Mich. VIII 500. 7 (2nd cent.), where the restoration of the following sentence to imply that the cotton goods were to be sent from Rome does not convince. The new reference here does not change the impression that cotton was comparatively rare, see I. Callieris, *αἱ πρώται ὄλαι τῆς ἰθαντουργίας* 87-9, E. Wipszycka, *L'Industrie textile* 40-41. Callieris and Wipszycka prefer to think that most of these documents refer to cotton imported from India. They are perhaps not so numerous as to force us to resort to that

hypothesis, but there is other evidence for cotton exports from India to the West, see L. Casson, *The Periplus Maris Erythraei* 292-3, cf. esp. 16-19.

18 *ἀσφαλῆ(ν)*. For phonetic difficulties with nasals cf. F. T. Gignac, *Grammar* i 111-114.

22 *Δημήτριος(ν)*. A tiny raised speck is interpreted as omicron, and in fact it looks quite like the tiny omicron of *Ἐπαφρό-* above, but it could be a trace of a horizontal line, i.e. *Δημήτριος(ν)*, cf. Gignac, *Grammar* ii 25-9, 3988 5 n.

24-5 *ἐν ἀγωνίᾳ γεγόνεμεν*. If this is genuinely aphaecresis, cf. Gignac, op. cit. i 319-20, but for loss of syllabic augment in pluperfects cf. id. ii 224 para. 2(a). Cf. 3994 6 and n.

30-31 Cf. 6 n.

32 For *ἀπό* in addresses cf. 3988 21 n., 3992 34.

For the design cf. introd., with 3988 introd., 3989 introd., 18 n.

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### 3992. AELIUS THEON TO HERMINUS

47 5B.47/A(5-8)a

10 × 21.5 cm

Second century

This looks like the letter of a wooer to his prospective father-in-law, whom he calls his 'friend' in the address (34), but in the prescript (2) 'brother', which indicates that Herminus was a man of about his own age and of similar status, see 3988 introd. The beloved was 'my lady your daughter Dionysia', who receives greetings before her mother. Theon apologizes for not having sent some special delicacies (*τραγημάτια*) to Dionysia, 'because the new ones have not yet been shipped in'. He promises to send some worthy of her when they do come, as well as anything else that he can. He tells Herminus that he makes her obeisance before Sarapis every day, adding 'and yours and her mother's' as a polite afterthought. The obeisance to Sarapis is quite probably an indication that the letter comes from Alexandria, see G. Geraci, *Aegyptus* 51 (1971) 172-3.

Then come more greetings, the farewell and the date, Pachon 22, which is 17 May, but two more paragraphs follow, alluding to business matters which remain opaque for us.

There is a sheet join running vertically close to the middle, which proves that the letter is written on the recto of the roll from which this piece was cut. On the back, downwards along the fibres, is an address in two sections divided by a design of the common saltire pattern, which marks the spot where the letter was tied up for dispatch, cf. 3988 introd. *ad fin.*

The date is assessed on the basis of the writing, a firm and competent cursive, which may probably be safely assigned to the second century. Note also the *nomen* Aelius, which is most likely to derive in some way from a grant of citizenship by Hadrian or Pius, perhaps through manumission, directly or indirectly; see also i n.

The single accent in line 27, a circumflex on omega to draw attention to the first person of the subjunctive of the verb to be, is enough of a rarity in this context to deserve notice, cf. E. G. Turner, *Greek Manuscripts of the Ancient World* No. 70.

Αἴλιος Θεῶν Ἑρμίνωι τῶι  
 ἀδελφῶι χαίρειν.  
 καὶ πρὸ ἡμερῶν ἔγραψά 'κοι' ἀσπαζό-  
 μενός σε καὶ τὴν κυρίαν μου  
 5 θυγατέρα σου [Δι]ονυσίαν καὶ τὴν  
 μητέρα αὐτῆ[ς]. καὶ νῦν τὸ αὐτὸ  
 ποιῶ καὶ παρ[α]καλῶ συγγνώμῃ  
 'μοι' εἰ μήπω τῆι αὐτῆι' κυρίαί ἡμῶν πέ-  
 10 πομφα τραγημάτια. οὐπω γὰρ  
 τὰ νέα κατέπλευσεν. ὅταν δὲ  
 κατακομισθῆι, πέμψω αὐτῆ[ι]  
 ἄξια αὐτῆς κα[ὶ] εἴ τ[ι] ἄλλο ξὰν δύ-  
 νωμαι. ἐκάστη[ς] μὲν[τοι] ἡμέρας  
 τὸ προσκύνημα αὐτῆς [π]οιῶ πα-  
 15 ρὰ τῶι θεῶι τω θε[.] τω[ι] κυρίωι  
 Σαράπιδι καὶ σοῦ καὶ τῆς μητρὸς  
 αὐτῆς. ἀσπάζ[ου] οὖν αὐτὴν καὶ  
 τὴν μητέρα αὐτῆς, μεθ' ὧν ἐρρω-  
 20 σθαί σε εὐχομαι εἰς μακροῦς χρόνους  
 καὶ ὅλωι σου τῶι οἴκω[ι].  
 ἔρρω(σο). Παχὼν κββ.  
 Διογάς ὁ ἐμὸς ἀνέπλευσεν, ἐπὶ  
 ποίαι αἰρέσει μεταδώσει σοι  
 καὶ ἡ ἀδελφή μου καὶ Διονύσιος  
 25 ὁ νομογράφος καὶ Πτολεμαῖος  
 ὁ μελλογυμνασιάρχος, οἷς συλ-  
 λήψῃ, εἴαν γε μὴ ᾧ πεπλανη-  
 μένος. (vac.)  
 Σαραπίδωρος ὁ φίλος ὁ ἔμπορος  
 30 πολλάκις με λυπήσας καὶ νῦν ἐν τοῖς  
 περὶ Διογάτος ἀντιδικεῖ μοι. τοῦτο  
 ὑμᾶς μαρτύρομαι μόνον. οὐ γὰρ  
 ὑπομένω αὐτὸν μιμήσασθαι.

Back, downwards along the fibres:

ἀπὸ Αἰλίου Θεῶνος (design) Ἑρμίνωι φίλωι.

21 ερρ<sup>ω</sup>

27 ᾧ

'Aelius Theon to Herminus his brother, greetings. I also wrote to you a few days ago, saluting you and my lady your daughter Dionysia and her mother. I am doing the same now, and I beg you to excuse me if I have not yet sent this same lady of ours any dainties, because the new ones have not yet been shipped in; but when they are brought in I shall send her some worthy of her, along with whatever else I can. However, every day I make her obeisance before the god, the (...) lord Sarapis, and yours and her mother's. So greet her and her mother, and with them I wish you and your whole household good health for many years. Farewell! Pachon 22.'

'My Diogas sailed upstream, with what purpose my sister will inform you, as will Dionysius the district scribe and Ptolemaeus the gymnasiarch elect, all of whom you will assist, if I am not mistaken.'

'Sarapiodorus, my friend the merchant, who has often caused me grief, is now also opposing me in the matters relating to Diogas. This I am only drawing to your attention, since I cannot bear to imitate him.'

Back: 'From Aelius Theon to Herminus his friend.'

1 On the probable significance of the *nomen* Aelius see introd. para. 4. The name Aelius Theon is that of a rhetorician from Alexandria whose book of *προγυμνάσματα* has survived in large part, see *Rhetores Graeci* (Teubner, ed. L. Spengel) ii 59–130, cf. Suidas (Adler) I ii 702. 17, No. 206, RE VA coll. 2037–54. It is perhaps worth raising the possibility that the sender of the letter could be that man, since E. G. Turner, *Greek Papyri* 86–7, 92–3, has drawn attention to the signs of interest in literary studies at Oxyrhynchus and of contacts with Alexandrian scholarship; he suggested that the Alexandrian lexicographer Harpocration is to be recognized in some documentary papyri, as well as other less familiar scholars of the period.

9 *τραγημάτια*. The diminutive form occurs also in P. Mich. II 123 verso v 21, and in Aulus Gellius, *Noctes Atticae* VII 13. 12. A recent study of the meaning of *τραγήματα* by E. Battaglia, *Artos* 125–6, shows that they included cakes, although most of the things mentioned in the literary passages cited are fruits or nuts. See now also *ZPE* 86 (1991) 276, No. 13. 2.

10–11 *κατέπλευσεν, κατακομισθῆι*. In most Egyptian contexts these words would refer to a voyage northwards, down the Nile, see e.g. H. C. Youtie, *Scriptunculae* 1 493 (= *Harvard Theological Review* 41 (1948) 15) n. 36, cf. LSJ s.v. *καταπλέω* I. 2, and note *ἀνέπλευσεν* in 22 plainly referring to a voyage up the Nile towards Oxyrhynchus. In most non-Egyptian contexts they would refer to the import of goods by sea, see LSJ s.v. *κατακομίζω* 4, 'import', *καταπλέω* I. 1. In relation to Alexandria, where this letter was quite probably written, see introd. para. 1, either sense is possible, and there is some likelihood that Aelius Theon was promising to send a present of exotic delicacies, such as walnuts and pine kernels, see E. Battaglia, *Artos* 125–6.

12–13 On the combination of εἴ τις with εἴαν see H. Ljungvik, *Zur Syntax der spätgriechischen Volkssprache* 16–17.

14–17 On the obeisances to Sarapis cf. introd. para 1.

15 τω θε[.] τω[ι] κυρίωι. The spacing does not suggest, perhaps does not allow, τῶι θεῶι τῶι θειοτάτωι κυρίωι. One possibility, favoured by the distance between ω and the upright trace of what must be the next letter, might be τῶι θεῶι τῶν θε[ῶν] τῶ[ι] κυρίωι, but the expression 'the god of gods, the lord Sarapis' is unfamiliar and does not immediately inspire confidence. A less bizarre possibility is that τῶι θεῶι was repeated by accident, but even so 'the god, the lord Sarapis' is also unparalleled.

20 καὶ ὅλωι σου τῶι οἴκω[ι]. For the sake of the grammar we might suggest εἰν ὅλωι κτλ., cf. P. Mert. I 24. 22–3, P. Mich. VIII 481. 29, XX 2273 25–6, and this may have been in the writer's mind. Alternatively we could correct the datives to accusatives, cf. P. Petaus 28. 2, 23–4, P. Princ. II 73. 16, SB XIV 11906. 4–5.

22 *Διογᾶς*. On names ending in *-ᾶς*, which are frequent, see F. T. Gignac, *Grammar* ii 16.

It is not clear what is meant by *ὁ ἐμός*; Diogas could perhaps be a slave, or a relative, or a friend or colleague. The whole postscript in 22–33 is too obliquely allusive for us to understand what was happening.

22–6 The punctuation and the meaning are uncertain. The printed text shows the minimum punctuation and the translation takes the three *καὶ*s in 24–5 as parallel. Professor Parsons suggested that we should put a comma in 24 after *καὶ ἡ ἀδελφή μου*, taking *καὶ* as emphatic, and view *καὶ Διονύσιος ... καὶ Πτολεμαῖος ...* as additional subjects of *ἀνέπλευσεν* rather than of *μεταδώσει*, 'My Diogas sailed upstream, with what purpose my sister will inform you, as did Dionysius ... and Ptolemaeus ...' Yet another possibility is that a comma should fall after *μεταδώσει σοι*, of which the subject would be 'he', *Διογᾶς*. Then *ἡ ἀδελφή μου* would also be a subject of *ἀνέπλευσεν*, 'My Diogas sailed upstream, with what purpose he will inform you, as did my sister and Dionysius ... and Ptolemaeus ...' It is not easy to make a choice without knowledge of the circumstances.

23 *ποιῖαι*. According to E. Mayser, *Grammatik* II i 78, *ποιῖος* already from the Ptolemaic period ceased to ask for the quality and became identical with *τίς*.

25 The function of the *νομογράφος* still remains obscure; on the little that is known see H. J. Wolff, *Das Recht der griechischen Papyri Ägyptens* ii 30–31.

27–8 Cf. LV 3808 6–7, 3819 14–15, 3820 12, 13–14 for unusual periphrastic verb forms, but this is unusual only in being so very correct!

29 It is clear from the context that *φίλος* is meant ironically. For another example of irony see XVIII 2190 41 *ὁ χρήσιμος Ἡρακλᾶς—κακὸς κακός!—... ἔφυγεν*, 'The useful Heraclas—curse him!—... ran away'. Heraclas was a disobedient slave.

34 For *ἀπό* in addresses, see 3988 21 n.

*φίλων*. Cf. introd. para. 1.

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### 3993. COPRYS AND SINTHONIS TO SARAPAMMON AND SYRA

48 5B.26/H(1–3)a

24.5 × 22 cm

Second/third century

The most striking part of this letter is the acknowledgment of the receipt through an *ἐπιστολαφόρος*, a public servant appointed to carry official correspondence, of a letter from the addressees and of a package containing gold leaves wrapped in a cloth (9–11). As usual with private letters, we would like to know more: the nature of the arrangement with the official dispatch carrier and the nature and purpose of the gold leaves.

The letter is written throughout in the same hand, probably that of a clerk, since it is a clear and firm cursive, probably of around AD 200. There are two columns, the first about 13 cm broad and 19 cm deep, the second narrower, c. 7 cm broad, and shorter, c. 15.5 cm deep. The single sheet join runs down the intercolumnium. The clerk may have taken its position into account when he planned the layout. On the back there is the sort of saltire pattern which normally marks the point where a letter was tied when it was made into a package for dispatch, cf. 3988 introd. This is faint, but perfectly visible, whereas there is no trace of the expected address. It is possible that this is a file copy kept in Oxyrhynchus by the senders, cf. 4–5 n.

Κοπρὺς κ[α]ὶ Σινθώνις Σαρ'ἀπάμμωνι καὶ Σύρα

τοῖς τιμωτάτοις υἱοῖς χαίρειν.

πρὸ τῶν ὄλων ἐρρώσθαι ὑμᾶς εὐχόμεθα

καὶ τὸ προσκύνημα ὑμῶν ποιούμεν παρὰ

5 τοῖς πατρώοις ὑμῶν θεοῖς. ἐκομίσμεθα

παρὰ Τροφίμου καὶ τοῦ ἱερέως κοῦφα ἕξ καὶ

ἀπαιτούμεθα ναύλου ἀπὸ Δικωμίας (δραχμᾶς) 5 ὀβ(ολοὺς) 5

καὶ τέλους (δραχμᾶς) γ (τριώβολον), καὶ ἀμβούλλαν καὶ σολίων

ζεύγη δ', καὶ παρὰ τοῦ ἐπιστολαφόρου ἐκομι-

10 κάμεθα γράμματα ὑμῶν καὶ ῥάκος ἐν ᾧ ἔς-

τιν πέταλα χρυσᾶ, ἃ δεδώκαμεν Τροφίμῳ.

ἔδηλώκατε ἡμεῖν λαβεῖν ἡμᾶς παρὰ Πετοσεί-

ριος τοῦ ἱερέως (δραχμᾶς) φ<sup>-</sup> καὶ ταύτας μέχρι τοῦ νῦν

οὐκ ἀπειλήφαμεν. οὐ γὰρ ἀγνωμονοῦσιν. εἶπαν

15 γὰρ ἡμεῖν ὅτι, 'εὐλλέγομεν αὐτά'. ἔλεγον γὰρ ὅτι,

'εἰς (δραχμαὶ) ὑμῆ'. εἰ [ο]ὖν γὰρ εἰς αὐται, δήλωσον ἡ-

μεῖν. περὶ γὰρ αὐτοῦ ἐσμεν ὅτι, 'εἰ θέλετε παρ' ἡ-

μῶν τὰς (δραχμᾶς) φ<sup>-</sup> καὶ ἡμεῖν τὸ γράμμα δοῦναι'. αὐ-

τοὶ δὲ λέγουσιν [δ]τι, 'ὁ ἐμε[[τ]]ζειτεύμεθα ἐν τῷ ἰ-

20 ερῶ δ[ι]ὰ Τροφίμου λάβετε'. εἰς πάλιν ἀπολά-

βωμεν, δηλώσομεν σοι. δήλωσον ἡμεῖν εἰ θέ-

λεις ἐκ τοῦ κειμένου ἀποδοῦναι Ἀπφῶτι. κείται

μέχρι[ι] οὐ δηλώσεις [ἡ]μεῖν. ἔγραψας ἡμεῖν,

'τίς ἐστιν ὁ κληρονόμος τοῦ τετελευτηκό(το)ς?'. ἐξη-

25 τάσαμεν καὶ εὐ[ρ]ομεν ὃν ἐτεκνοποίησατο,

ἀλλὰ οἱ περὶ Πετ[ο]σεῖρῖν εἰς οἱ ἀναγκαῖοι. ἔδω-

κέν σοι Θέω[ν] ὁ πατὴρ Πετοσεῖριος κεράμι[ο]ν

col. ii

κρέως. οὐ γὰρ εὐρομεν

ἀσφαλή μέλλοντά

30 σοι αὐτὸ κομίσαι. εἰς γὰρ

γράφης τῷ Θέωνι, δήλω-

σον αὐτῷ ὅτι ἐκομίσω

τὸ κεράμιον τῶν κρεῶν.  
 ἐὰν ἀνάβασις γένηται,  
 35 πέμψω σοι αὐτὸ διὰ τῶν  
 κυνηθῶν ναυτικῶν.  
 ἄσπασαι τὸν υἱὸν ἡμῶν  
 Παάπῳ καὶ Θαῆνι τὴν  
 θυγατέραν ἡμῶν. ἄ-  
 40 σπάζεται ὑμᾶς Σερήνος  
 ὁ ἀδελφὸς ὑμῶν καὶ  
 Διόκορος καὶ Ὑδφελίνῃ  
 καὶ Πτολεμαίῳ καὶ Ἡράς.  
 ἃ ἔπεμψας χαρτάρια ἐδώ-  
 45 καμεν Θῶνι τῷ υἱῷ  
 Κεφαλᾶτος. ἐρρώσθαι ὑμᾶς  
 εὐχόμεθα εὖ διάγ(οντας).  
 ὄρα μὴ ἀμελήσης περὶ ὧν  
 ἐδήλωσέ σοι Ἀπφός.

»

2 υἱός	3 ἡμᾶς	5 ἡμῶν	6 ἱερωσ; ἰ corr.	7 α of ἀπό corr.; ἴσοβς	8 συψ
10 ἡμῶν	12 l. ἡμῶν	13 ἱερωσψ	15 l. ἡμῶν	16 συμψ	16-17 l. ἡμῶν
18 ψ; l. ἡμῶν	19-20 ἱερω	21 l. ἡμῶν	23 l. [ἡ]μῶν, ἡμῶν	37 υἱόν	39 l. θυγατέρα
40 ἡμᾶς	41 ἡμῶν	45 l. Θῶνι; υἱῷ	46 ἡμᾶς	47 δια?	

'Coptys and Sinthonis to Sarapammon and Syra, their most honoured children, greetings. Before all things we pray for your health and we make your obeisance before your ancestral gods. We received six amphoras from Trophimus and the priest—and we are being asked for dr. 6 ob. 6 for freight from Dicomia and dr. 3 ob. 3 for customs—and a flask and 4 pairs of sandals, and from the dispatch carrier we received your letter and a cloth in which are gold leaves, which we have given to Trophimus. You told us that we should get dr. 500 from Petosiris the priest and these we have not recovered up to now. They do not refuse, for they said to us, 'We are collecting them'. They said, 'The sum is dr. 448'. So if this is the figure, let us know. For we are working on them, (saying) 'If you want to get the dr. 500 from us and give us a document, (you can do that)'. But they say, 'Accept what we have guaranteed by arbitration in the temple through Trophimus'. If we get the money back, we shall let you know. Let us know if you want to pay back Apphys from what you have on deposit. It remains on deposit until you let us know. You wrote to us, 'Who is the heir of the deceased?' We made enquiries and we discovered that it was the man he adopted, but Petosiris and his associates are the next of kin. Theon the father of Petosiris gave you a jar of meat. We could not find a safe person who would bring it to you. If you write to Theon, let him know that you received the jar of meats. If the flood comes, I shall send it to you by the usual boatmen. Salute our son Paapis and Thaeis our daughter. Serenus your brother salutes you, and Dioscorus and Opheline and Ptolemaeus and Heras. The pieces of papyrus which you sent we have given to Thonis the son of Cephalas. We pray for your health and well being.'

'See that you don't be careless about the matters which Apphys has communicated to you.'

1 Κοπρίς. This form is new, i.e. not in F. Preisigke, *Namenbuch* or D. Foraboschi, *Onomasticon Alterum*. It seems likely to be a phonetic version of masculine Κοπρῆς rather than an error for feminine Κοπρῖς.

2 ἀπάμμωνι. No suitable alternative name is known, see F. Dornseiff, B. Hansen, *Rückläufiges Wörterbuch d. gr. Eigennamen* 116, but the damage makes it uncertain what exactly went wrong with the writing of it here. The reading of the first two letters as Ζα- seems very satisfactory; then there seems to be something more before -ἀπάμμωνι, which is clear, but the remains of the third letter are very meagre and narrow and show no sign of the usual decisive descender. It is deduced that rho was omitted and later supplied above the line.

Although the upsilon of Σύρα, a feminine name, is now faint, it seems impossible to read Καρᾶ, which could be either gender, see 2 n.

2 υἱός. The use of υἱός for both sexes, 'children', is not so familiar as that of ἀδελφοί for 'siblings', because there are obvious alternatives, παῖδες, τέκνα, etc. The distinction is usually made, see here 37-9 ἄσπασαι τὸν υἱὸν ἡμῶν Παάπῳ καὶ Θαῆνι τὴν θυγατέραν (= -τέρα) ἡμῶν. Although υἱός often represents κληρονόμοι, see H. C. Youtie, *Scriptumculae* ii 978-9 (= *ZPE* 7 (1971) 170-71), it is not often possible to see that daughters are included. As well as XXXIV 2711 4-6, adduced by Youtie, see BGU XII 2156. 2-3 Σαραποδώρου (= -ω) καὶ Εὐχαριστέῳ ... ἀδελφοῖς ἐκ τῶν αὐτῶν γονέων ... υἱός τοῦ τῆς ἀρίστης μνήμης Ἐρμιογένοιο; 2164. 7 κατ[ά] κοινῶν [Ἐἰδο]ξίας (?; cf. 2171. 3 & n.) καὶ Θεοδώρου καὶ Θεο[δ]οσίου υἱὸν Φοιβάμμωνος; XX 2271 5-6 Ἡρακλῆ(ν) καὶ Πασιών(ι) [καὶ Καθ[ε]ίνῃ] καὶ Καθεῖν υἱός Πασιών(ος). In this last read Ἡρακλῆ (= -κλεῖς fem.) and Πασιών(ς), since there is no sign of abbreviation in either. (It may be that the writer was putting nominatives for datives here by oversight.) Again in XII 1451 25 υἱός includes reference to a daughter.

Once more we need to bear in mind that terms of blood relationship were used freely beyond their strict meanings, see 3988 introd. para. 1.

4-5 See G. Geraci, *Aegyptus* 51 (1971) 193, 206. The formula is plausibly thought to indicate a letter from home to recipients travelling away from home. Yet Sinthonis is thought to be a peculiarly Oxyrhynchite name, cf. P. München III 140 introd., which may cast doubt on the theory, since this letter was found at Oxyrhynchus. But another possibility is that this is a file copy, see introd. para. 2. Further speculation seems unprofitable.

5-6 ἐκομισάμεθα παρὰ Τροφίμου καὶ τοῦ ἱερέως. One thinks for a moment that Trophimus and the priest are the senders, but they were probably agents only, cf. 9-10 παρὰ τοῦ ἐπιτολοφῶρου ἐκομισάμεθα γράμματα ὑμῶν, especially since the authors of the letter have handed over to Trophimus goods received from the letter carrier (10-11), and because goods acknowledged in letters are usually those sent by the correspondents.

It is not clear if the priest is the same as Petosiris the priest in 12-13, nor is it clear if that man is the same as the Petosiris in 26-7. The circumstances of the reappearances of Trophimus in 11 and 20 rather suggest that he was a trusted agent of Sarapammon and Syra.

7 ἀπὸ Δικωμίας. According to A. Calderini, S. Daris, *Dizionario dei nomi geografici* ii 103 this was probably a village of the Heracleopolite nome. To their references add LV 3807 35, which likewise gives no firm clue to its location. All the documents but 3807 and 3993 come from the Arsinoite nome or the Heracleopolite.

It may be that the goods were sent direct from Dicomia, but it is perhaps more likely that this was a point on the journey where they changed boats, i.e. the senders paid freight to their boatman as far as his destination, Dicomia. From that point the next carrier worked for 'cash on delivery'. Dicomia may also have been a customs station, cf. 8 n.

The symmetry of the figures should be noted: for six amphoras (of wine?; cf. L 3588 introd. and 6 n.) freight charges are dr. 6 ob. 6, customs duty is dr. 3 ob. 3.

(δρ.) ε ὄβ. 5. Cf. L. C. West, A. C. Johnson, *Currency* Ch. I, pp. 1-12. The only silver coin was the tetradrachm, equivalent on the silver standard theoretically to four drachmas of six obols each. Where the drachma appears with a value of more than six obols, it is because payments in the subsidiary bronze coinage are involved. Because the bronze was inconvenient, it was natural that more of it had to be paid, usually ob. 28 to equate with the tetradrachm, i.e. the so-called 'seven-obol drachma'.

8 τέλοιο. For internal customs charges see S. L. Wallace, *Taxation* 258-71.

ἀμβούλλαν. This appears to be the Latin word *ampulla*, cf. BGU I 40. 2 (ἀνύλλη; cf. F. T. Gignac, *Grammatik* i 171), P. Lond. II 191. 16 (p. 265), SB VI 9238. 19, 9350 (= P. Lund IV 14). 15, [26] (all ἀμπούλλον, cf. Gignac op. cit. i 219). The form is probably a simple phonetic error, β for π after μ, cf.



Gignac op. cit. i 83. The etymology from *bullā* is not likely to be implied, see Isid. 20. 5. 5 *ampulla quasi amphla bulla: similis est enim rotunditate bullis quae ex spumis aquarum fiunt atque ita inflantur uento*; cf. G. Goetz, *CGI*. V 166. 14.

κόλιον. Cf. P. Mich. VIII 508. 5 n.

9 ἐπιετολαφόρου. This person would have been a carrier of official letters. We know of them in public service at the village level, see P. Petaus 84 introd., and at the metropolis level, see XLIII 3095 9–10 and n., with N. Lewis, *The Compulsory Public Services* 29. Private persons had to make their own arrangements for sending letters. It seems natural that in this case they made the arrangement with an official so useful for the purpose.

10 βάκος. The use of this word to mean a cloth wrapper is not familiar. Compare perhaps I 117 12–16 ἐπεμψα ... βάκη δύο, κατασκευημμένα [τῆ] φραγεῖδι μου, ἐξ ὧν δώσεις τοῖς παιδίοις σου ἐν ἐξ αὐτῶν, 'I sent ... two cloths, sealed with my seal, of which you are to give your children one {of them}'. These are probably parcels like ours. The word βάκος, 'rag', would hardly be appropriate to a present of useful or decorative textiles.

11 πέταλα χρυσά. This might certainly mean gold leaf for gilding, see P. Lund IV 7 (=SB VI 9321), P. Köln I 52. 13–14, SB XIV 11959. 36. To wrap such fragile stuff in cloth might seem unsafe, but the cloth could be the outer wrapper only and there would be no need to refer to any other packing. Thicker than gilder's leaf would be the gold leaves sometimes used for writing magical texts, see XLII 3068 2 and introd. with H. C. Youtie, *ΖΠΕ* 19 (1975) 280–81. These probably do not exhaust the possibilities.

12–21 The business matter here is obscure for us because it was so clearly understood by the writers that they mention only details and not essentials. They had been instructed to collect dr. 500 from Petosiris the priest, who had associates, as the plurals in 14–19 reveal. The amount was disputed, Petosiris and his party saying that it should be only dr. 448, but they did not refuse point blank to pay; they temporized and said that they were collecting it (14–16). The writers offered to pay the dr. 500 in return for a written acknowledgement or contract from Petosiris and his party, but they, evidently still disputing the amount, offered to pay what they claimed to have guaranteed under arbitration in a temple (17–20).

14 εἶπαν. For the ending cf. 3988 4 n.

γάρ. The writer uses γάρ in a loose sense here and later: ἐλεγον γάρ (15), εἰ [οἷ]ν γάρ εἶεν αὐταὶ (16), οὐ γὰρ εὐρομεν (28), ἐὰν γὰρ γράψης (30–31); cf. J. D. Denniston, *The Greek Particles* 61. It has been omitted from the translation at these places. In εἶπαν γάρ (14–15) and περὶ γὰρ αὐτοῦ ἐςμεν (17), we can translate it as 'for' in the usual way.

15 For ὄτι introducing direct speech see LVI 3855 7 n. Cf. 15 (end), 17, 19.

ἐλεγον. The imperfect tense possibly indicates that this statement antedated the one introduced by εἶπαν γάρ: translate possibly, 'For they told us ... Before that they said ...'

17 περὶ γὰρ αὐτοῦ ἐςμεν ὄτι. For εἶναι περὶ τί, 'to be busy with something', see LSJ *περὶ* C.3. Used of persons it seems unfamiliar.

17–18 For the absence of the apodosis, which is an idiom, see LV 3813 72–4 n.

19 ἐμ[ε]τ[ε]ρεῖν[ε]μ[ε]θα. The sigma is a large lunate blot over the original tau. Emend probably to the perfect μεμετερεύμεθα, assuming the replacement of reduplication by the syllabic augment, see F. T. Gignac, *Grammar* ii 243–4, rather than the omission of omicron from the imperfect ἐμετερεύμεθα.

21 σοι. From this point the letter is written as if directed to one of the pair of addressees only, with a few exceptions (ὄμας 40, ὄμων 41, ὄμας 46); the postscript returns to the singular (48–9). Cf. 35 n.

24–6 Since the heir is contrasted with those who are connected by blood (ἀναγκαῖοι), it seems likely that τεκνοποιεῖσθαι here means 'to adopt', as it seems to do also only in the damaged context of UPZ I 4. 5, cf. UPZ I 3. Otherwise in the papyri it usually means 'to beget', e.g. P. Eleph. i. 9, P. München III 62. 5, P. Sakaon 41. 5, SB XII 11053 C 10.

If the Petosiris here is the same as the priest of the same name in 12–13, this may be part of the same business as in 12–21, but it appears to be separated from it by the question of the repayment of Apphys which occupies 21–3.

26–33 κεράμι[ο]ν κρέως ... τὸ κεράμιον τῶν κρέων. Cf. P. Genova I 49. 7–8 κεράμια β, ἐν κρέος (= κρέως), ἐν γλυκελιῶν (= γλυκελαιῶν). The jar would probably have contained pieces of preserved meat, cf. XVIII 2190 62–3 καὶ παριχηρὰ κρέα ρίς.

34 ἀνάβασις. This mention of the imminence of the Nile flood indicates that the letter was written in mid-summer, probably shortly before the middle of July.

35 πέμψω. Here the writer lapses for once into the singular for the senders. Cf. 21 n.

39 θυγατέραν (l. -τέρα). See F. T. Gignac, *Grammar* ii 45–6.

42 The name Ἰσφελίση is new, i.e. not in Preisigke, *Namenbuch* or Foraboschi, *Onomasticon*.

44 χαρτάρια. The translation has 'pieces of papyrus', but since diminutives so often in the vernacular mean the same as the normal form, and χάρτης means 'papyrus roll', it is possible that χαρτάρια here refers to rolls, see N. Lewis, *Papyrus in Classical Antiquity* 70–78, esp. 77. No unambiguous example of it in that sense has been identified, but a very strong implication of such a use is seen in P. Mich. inv. 1655 = SB XVI 12591, as was argued in the first edition by H. C. Youtie, *ΖΠΕ* 35 (1979) 105–7, cf. N. Lewis, *Papyrus in Classical Antiquity: A Supplement* (Pap. Brux. 23) 40.

H. G. IOANNIDOU

### 3994. CALOCAERUS TO EUPHROSINE

No inv. no.

10.5 × 12 cm

Early third century

This is the letter of a suspicious husband. He was writing to a woman whom he addressed as his sister, asking her to find out what his wife was doing, since she would not write to him and was in possession of all the property which he owned. He sent greetings to another 'sister' and offered to send her anything that she needed from the place where he was. On the uncertainties caused by the customary free use of the terms of blood relationship see 3988 introd., but it is quite possible that the letter was in fact sent to the man's sisters.

The almost square scrap of papyrus was seemingly cut from a blank area in a used document and the fragmentary line in a different hand on the verso is a remnant of the previous use, since it was mutilated when the piece was cut to this shape, see also 17 n. The letter is written across the fibres of the recto of the original roll, as is shown by a sheet-join running under line 9, the overlap being downwards. When written the letter was rolled up with the top inside, a process which also concealed the half line which already stood on the back. The resulting little roll was squashed flat, the exposed bottom edge was tucked inside to protect it, and a binding was placed round the middle of the flat package. Then on one side the address was written in two parts straddling the binding.

The cursive writing is untidy and slopes backwards in places, but it is practised. It looks like the hand of a private person, rather than that of a professional letter-writer. It probably belongs to the early third century.

Καλόκαιρος Εὐφροσύνη [τ.] ]

τῇ ἀδελφῇ χαίρειν.

παρακληθεῖσα, ἀδελφή, ἐάν μοι

τι θέ[λ]ης χαρίσασθαι, περιέργασαι

5 τί πράσσει Ἀλεῖς ἢ γυνή μου. εἰ καὶ

μη̄ γεγραφήκειν σοι [[σοι]], ὤφειλες ἀ-  
 πό σεαυτῆς γράφειν μοι ὡς ἀδελ-  
 φῶ σοι. οὐκ ἐπὶ μέλει μοι περὶ αὐ-  
 τῆς, ἀλλὰ εἴ τι ἔχω παρ' αὐτῆ ἔστιν.  
 10 καὶ τῶ μη̄ γράφειν μοι αὐτήν, ἐ-  
 κ τούτου προλαμβάνω ἄλλω' ἄρ' ἐ-  
 ρὶ αὐτῆς. ἀσπάζου Θεαῖοῦν τὴν  
 ἀδελφὴν καὶ εἰπέ αὐτῆ, ἐάν τινο[ς  
 χρήσῃ ἐνθάδε, γράψα[ι] μοι.  
 15 ἔρρωσθαί σοι εὖχ[ομαι]. (vac.)

Back, along the fibres: ἀπόδοσ Εὐ- (vac.) φροσύνη ἀδελφῆ.

Back, along the fibres, upside down to 16: (m. 2) Διοσ]κοράτος (?).

8 1. ἐπέι 16 εν (vac.) φροσύ

'Calocaeus to Euphrosyne his sister, greetings. Please, sister, if you want to do me a favour, enquire what my wife Aleis is doing. Even if I had not written to you, you ought of your own accord to have written to me, as I am your brother. Not that I care about her, but all that I possess is under her control. And the fact that she doesn't write to me—from that I have a presentiment of trouble about her. Salute Thaisus my sister and tell her, if she needs anything here, to write to me. I pray for your health.'

Back, along the fibres: 'Deliver to Euphrosyne my sister.'

Back, along the fibres, upside down to the address: '...Dioscoras (?).'

1 [[τ.]]. These letters are struck through. Probably the writer started on the eta of τῆ and then decided to begin the word again in line 2.

6 μη̄ γεγραφήκειν. See 3991 24–5 and n.

11 ἄλλω' ἄρ'. See LSJ s.v. ἄλλωσ ad fin. 'otherwise than right, wrongly'.

15 It seems that εὖχομαι was abbreviated, probably by writing mu above omicron.

16 At the mid-point there is only a blank where the binding was, instead of the usual signs of patterning, cf. 3988 introd. ad fin.

17 Διοσ]κοράτος. This is in a large clumsy hand. Since it was on the verso even when the papyrus was used for this letter, see introd., it may be that the first use for another letter of which this was part of the address, e.g. ἀπόδοσ τῶ δέινι παρὰ Διοσ]κοράτος. In that case the piece was cut from the blank foot of a tall narrow letter probably of the same width as the height of this one, c. 12 cm. This is the only possible name, provided that the doubtful letters are correctly read, see F. Dornseiff, B. Hansen, Rückläufiges Wörterbuch der gr. Eigennamen 140.

H. G. IOANNIDOU

### 3995. PETOSIRIS TO PLUTARCHUS

47 5B.47/C(5–8)a

12.5 × 7 cm

Early third century

This complete little chit, blank on the back, has no more than four and a half lines. It opens with a normal letter prescript and stops short without a farewell formula

after a polite request for the loan of a donkey to transport half an artaba of loaves of bread. Probably it is just a swift note, dashed off and sent by a messenger who knew the recipient's address, but it could be a draft, abandoned because the sender was displeased by the roughness of the writing and perhaps also by the phonetic spelling and the obscure grammar of the last clause.

A sheet join c. 5.5 cm from the left edge shows that the writing runs along the fibres of the recto of the original roll from which this piece came. The top and the right edges are fairly straight apart from slight damage, the left and bottom edges, where the damage is only a little worse, were carelessly cut or broken.

Πετοσίρις Πλουτάρχῳ τῶ ἀδελφῶ χαίρειν.  
 εὖ σοί σοί, ἀδελφε, χῆρον τὸ ὄναρ ἰν σοι,  
 ἀπιδὴ ἀναφέρουσιν μοι ἱμαρτάβιον  
 ψωμίων, ἴ' να' φθάνουσι ἀποκαταστήσαι  
 5 αὐτὸ σήμερον.

2 1. σοί σοί, ὁ of χῆρον corr., ὁ of τὸ corr. from ω; 1. ὄναριον 3 1. ἐπιδὴ; ἱμαρταβιον, 1. ἡμαρτάβιον  
 4 ἴ' να'; 1. φθάνουσι'

'Petosiris to Plutarchus his brother, greetings. Do me a favour, brother, and lend (me) your donkey, because they are bringing half an artaba of loaves of bread up to me, so that they may get it delivered today.'

2 εὖ σοί σοί (= σοί σοί) χῆρον. For the imperative in this sort of formula see H. Steen, 'Les clichés épistolaires', *Classica et Mediaevalia* 1 (1938) 142–3.

ὄναρ ἰν (= ἄριον). Cf. 3988 5 n. for the form. Diminutives are characteristic of colloquial Greek, see H. C. Youtie, *Scriptunculae* 1 304 (= *TAPA* 89 (1958) 394) and n. 77, so that there is no need to suppose that the donkey was a little one, although the half artaba that it was to carry would not be a full load for a donkey; a normal full load would be about 3 artabas, see H. C. Youtie, op. cit. ii 920 (= *Berytus* 8. 2 (1944) 90) and n. 42.

3 ἀπιδὴ (= ἐπιδὴ). Cf. F. T. Gignac, *Grammatik* 1 193 (ai for e), 189–90 (i for η).

ἀναφέρουσι. Compounds of ἀνά may refer to movement (a) from north to south (i.e. upstream with reference to the Nile), (b) up from the Nile valley to the desert, (c) up from a village to its district capital, see H. C. Youtie, *Scriptunculae* 1 493 (= *HTR* 41 (1948) 15) and n. 36. Perhaps (c) is most likely here, that is, the bread was to be carried up to the city of Oxyrhynchus from a country place.

ἱμαρτάβιον (= ἡμ-). Cf. Gignac, op. cit. i 236 (i for η).

4–5 The meaning and construction of the last clause are doubtful. Since ἀποκαθίστημι most commonly refers to the return of loans, we at first expect αὐτό to refer to the borrowed donkey, cf. e.g. P. Fouad 28. 19. If φθάνουσι really does represent the indicative, this may be an example of the rare causal meaning of ἴνα, see F. Blass, A. Debrunner, F. Rehkopf, *Grammatik des neutestamentlichen Griechisch* 15 386–7 (§456 n. 2), B. G. Mandilaras, *The Verb* 264–5 (§590). If so, the present tense probably has a future force, as often, 'because they (will) hurry to return it (the donkey) today'.

If the indicative form really represents the subjunctive, as often, see Gignac, op. cit. ii 358–9, and ἴνα has its usual meaning, then we have to take ἀποκαθίστημι to mean 'deliver', which it does in contexts where the delivery is part of an obligation, such as a rent, tax, or levy, and take αὐτό to refer to the half-artaba of bread. This has been adopted as the easier alternative in the translation.

H. G. IOANNIDOU

## 3996. SERENUS TO TAPSAIS

47 5B.42/F(1-2)b

12.5 × 15.5

Third century

Serenus writes to Tapsais as his mother (1, 16), which in this case she may well have been in spite of the widespread use of terms of relationship outside the family, cf. 3988 introd. para. 1. He seems to have been away from home, see *ἐμοῦ ἐξερχομένον* (11-12), and asks if she has finished making some clothes. He sends two jars of what was probably soap, *σμήμα*, see 9 n., one for Tapsais and one for a lady called Harpocratiaena; these look like presents. An interesting point is that he asks for part of the letter to be read to Harpocratiaena, 'so that it does not appear that I have been neglectful'. It is not a certain conclusion that she was unable to read, see 3997 introd. para 1 and 42 n., but that may well have been the case.

The writing is a good sized rapid and fluent cursive of the third century. There is no change of hand for the farewell formula, but it is impossible to say whether this is the hand of Serenus himself or that of a professional letter writer.

The letter has the appearance of being written along the fibres of the recto of the roll from which the piece was cut, although there is no sheet join to prove it and in several places prominent fibres can be followed from the left edge to the right. The back is blank, without any trace of an address, which could mean that the carrier did not need an address or perhaps that the letter travelled inside a package.

16 *Σερῆνος Ταψάϊτι τῇ μητρὶ χ[ ](αἶρειν).  
καὶ ἄλλοτέ σοι ἔγραψα δηλώσαι μ[οι εἶ  
τί σοι Πανίσκος ἔ'λθὼν τότε ἔδ[ωκε  
χαλκοῦ, καὶ εἰ ἀπήρτισας τὰ ἱμ[άτια,  
5 καὶ πόσον ἐδαπάνησας. μὲ δ[ ] μὴ  
μέμψαι. τοσαυτάκις γὰρ ἐμοῦ γ[ρά-  
ψαντος αὐτῷ, οὐδὲ διὰ λόγων μοῦ  
ἐμνήσθη{ν}. ἐξ ὧν ἔπεμψα  
δυεῖν στάμωνων σμήματος  
10 δὸς ἓνα Ἀρποκρατιαινῆ. νῦν γὰρ  
ἐμνήσθησθην ὅτι [αὐτῆς] ἐμοῦ εἶ[χ]ξερ-  
[[. ]]χομένου περὶ τούτου μοι ἐπέθετο.  
καὶ ἀναγνωσθήτω αὐτῇ τοῦτο τὸ  
μέρος τῆς ἐπιστολῆς, ἵνα μὴ δόξῃ  
15 με ἡμεληκέναι. [ἄς]πασαι τοὺς ἡ-  
μῶν πάντας. ἐρρώσθαι σε εὐχ(ομαι) μῆτ(ερ).*

14 ἴνα?

16 εὐχ., μῆτ<sup>7</sup>

'Serenus to Tapsais, his mother, greetings. I wrote to you previously to let me know if Paniscus gave you any money when he came, and if you finished the cloaks, and how much you spent. But do not blame me, for although I wrote to him so many times, he did not remember me even in conversation. Give one of the two jars of soap(?) I sent to Harpocratiaena, for now I have remembered that she gave me instructions about this when I was leaving, and read this part of the letter to her, so that it does not appear that I have been neglectful. Greet all our people. I pray for your health, mother.'

1 There seems to be too little space for *χαίρειν* in full. Perhaps the most likely form of abbreviation is *χξ*, cf. e.g. LVI 3852.2.

5-6 *μὲ δ[ ] μὴ μέμψαι*. It is surprising to find *με* for *ἐμέ* where the emphasis is so strong, in spite of the well known fluctuation of the forms and such frequent expressions as *εἰς με* and *πρός με*, cf. F. T. Gignac, *Grammar* ii 161-2. In 7 *μοῦ* seems to be emphatic too.

8 *ἐμνήσθη{ν}*. For superfluous nasals see Gignac, *Grammar* i 112-4.

9 *δυεῖν*. Even rarer is the classical *δυοῖν*, and apart from this word the dual is unknown in the papyri, cf. LI 3611 7 n. For *δυοῖν*, however, add CPR V 9. 18 (AD 339).

*σμήματος*. This is the classical form of the word and the one usual in the papyri, although *ζμήμα* and *σμήγμα* appear infrequently, see Gignac, *Grammar* i 122(c), P. Herm. 38. 3 n., which also observes that the meaning is rather general. The word appears in the papyri in agricultural contexts, referring to substances for use, seemingly, on vines (P. Herm. 38. 6) or on sheep (P. Lond. I 113(4). 18-19; p. 209). One variety, for an unknown use, was made with castor oil (*κίκων*): J. G. Keenan, *ZPE* 34 (1979) 144-5). It seems to refer to any oily or greasy compound which was used by smearing it on. In this context soap for the ladies' personal use seems to be the most likely meaning, see Theoc. 15. 30, with A. S. F. Gow's commentary, ii 276-7.

11-12 εἶ[χ]ξερ[[. ]]χομένου. The second correction is not clear. It seems to have involved rewriting the first three letters of 12 and the resulting form of mu remains anomalous, cf. 14-15 n.

13-15 Cf. introd. para. 1.

14-15 At the beginnings unsatisfactory forms of mu have been rewritten, cf. 11-12 n.

H. G. IOANNIDOU

## 3997. HERACLES TO CERDON

74/35(a) + 36(a)

11.5 × 20.5 cm

Third/fourth century

This is a letter with several minor points of interest. There are two references to the unidentified vegetable substance called *κάγγαθον*, here in the plural, which is unusual, and in a form, *δλίγα κάγγαθα καλά* (37; cf. *περὶ τῶν σαργάθων*, 41), which makes the neuter gender clear for the first time, cf. LI 3618 12 n. on *ἐυλοκάγγαθον*. The supposedly poetical word *γραῖα*, 'old woman', occurs here (42) for the fourth time in the prosaic papyri. The greeting sent to *τὸν ἀναγνωσκοντα* (42), shows that Heracles expected his letter to be read to, rather than by, Cerdon. The references to god in the singular suggest that this is a Christian letter, although this is not a sure criterion, see M. Naldini, *Il cristianesimo* 7-10. Its writing and phraseology suggest that it is of the late third or more probably the early fourth century.

In 1-36 the writing runs along the fibres, probably those of the recto of the roll from which the piece was cut, although there is no sheet join to prove it. A farewell formula was put at the foot in 35-6, but then a single line postscript was added, written downwards in the left margin, as often, cf. LV 3814 29-30 n., 3998 36-8. Next

six more lines of greeting with a second farewell formula were added on the back: they are written downwards along the fibres and occupy a position corresponding to the ends of the lines on the front, i.e. a substantial margin of c. 8 cm, about two thirds of the width of the sheet, was left above them. Then the letter was rolled up from the right hand side in the way normally used for rolls, which concealed the writing on the back as well as that on the front. The little roll was squashed flat, the left edge was tucked inside for protection, and a binding was placed round the middle of the flat package. The address was written on one side in two sections to left and right of the binding and a pattern was inked over the binding. The removal of the binding by the recipient has removed some of the pattern.

Ἡρακλῆς [Κέρδω]νι ἀδελφῶ πλίστα χέρειν. πρὸ μὲν  
 πᾶν<των> εὐ[χομα]ί σε ὀλόκληρον ἀπολαβεῖν ἅμα  
 τῇ γλυ[κ]υτά<τη> Ταφύγχι θυγατρὸς σου. θαυμά-  
 ζω πῶς οὐδεμίαν ἐπιτολὴν μοι ἔγραψας. ἐγὼ  
 5 δὲ πολλάκις σοι ἔγραφα ἐπιζητῶν σου τῆς  
 φιλίας, σὺ δὲ μίαν μοι μόνον ἔγραψας, οὐ-  
 δὲ πάλιν ἐμοὶ ἔγραψας, ἀλλὰ τῷ πατρὶ μου ἔγρα-  
 ψας, οὐκ δλί[λ]υγως ἀπιλῶν μοι. θεὸς δὲ μόνος  
 οἶδε ὅτι καθ' ἐκάστην ἡμέραν τὸ προ<ς>κύ-  
 10 νημά σου ποιῶ, ἦτε παρ' ἀνθρώποις, ἦτε παρὰ  
 θεῶ. ἐπεθύμησα γάρ σε προσκυνῆσαι σε καὶ  
 διὰ γραμμάτων ἔστ' ἂν ὁ θεὸς δώσει τῇ(ν)  
 καλὴν ὁδὸν καὶ προσκυνήσωμεν ἀλλή-  
 15 λους. οἶδε γὰρ ὁ Κρανᾶς ὅτι πῶς αὐτὸν ἐ-  
 ξετάζω περὶ ὑμῶν καὶ ἡξιώμην αὐ-  
 τὸν ἀπὸ τῆς πρώ[τ]ης φορᾶς, ἵνα ἐνέ-  
 κη σοί τι καὶ οὐκ ἐδυνήθη, διότι ἐκί ἦν  
 Ἡρων ὁ δεσπότης τῶν καμηλῶν. καὶ  
 20 νῦν αὐτὸν ἡξίωσα καὶ τέτακτέ μοι.  
 ἐὰν οὖν λά<βω>, πέμπω σοί τι. καὶ οὖν πρό-  
 τρεψον αὐτὸν ἵνα ἀνόκνωσ ἡμί(ν)  
 γένη[ται] καὶ γράψον μοι τί χρήζεις  
 καὶ δι[ὰ] τί[νος] θέλεις πε' μ' ἴπω. οὐδὶς . . .  
 κτ[. . .] εἰν παρ' ἐμοῦ καὶ γράψον

25 c. 12 letters ] . ὑμῶν πάντων  
 c. 15 letters ] . τ. ἡκούσαμε(ν)  
 c. 15 letters ] θυγατρὸς περὶ  
 . . . . ἀσπάξου Ἀμ[μ]ώνιον τὸν ἀδε[λ-  
 φὸν καὶ c. 9 letters ] . αν καὶ Ἡρᾶν καὶ  
 30 c. 8 letters καὶ τοὺς] ἡμῶν πάντα  
 c. 15 letters ] . λαυρα ημω . .  
 c. 15 letters ] . . . ἀσπάξου  
 c. 15 letters ] . πιον καὶ ὄλου  
 τοὺς ἐν οὐκω καὶ γ]ράψον περὶ τῆς  
 35 ὀλοκληρίας ὑμῶ]ν. ἐρρώσθαι ὑμᾶς  
 εὐχομαι. (vac.?) ] (vac.)

In the left margin, downwards across the fibres:

πέμψον ἡμῖν ὀλίγα κάναθα καλά, ὅσα ἐὰν εὖρ[η]ς. (vac.?)

Back, downwards along the fibres:

ἀσπάξετε ὑμᾶς Κοπρῆς ὁ υἱὸς Ἀμμωνοῦς ονου . . . . . [ c. 10 letters  
 ἀσπάξετε ὑμᾶς Τοπαστᾶς καὶ Ἀφοῦς καὶ Ἀμμωνοῦς καὶ Ἑλένη  
 40 καὶ ὁ πατὴρ καὶ ἡ μήτηρ. ἀσπάξετε ἡ Ἑλένη τὴν θυγατέραν σου.  
 μὴ ἀμελήσης περὶ τῶν σαργάθων. ἀσπάξου Χεραμοῦν τὴν  
 γραιῖαν καὶ τὰ τέκνα αὐτῆς καὶ τὸν ἀναγνώσκοντα.  
 ἐρρώσθε [ὑμᾶ]ς εὐχόμεθα.

Address: ἀπόθ(ος) Κέρδωνι ἀδελφῶ (design) πα(ρὰ) Ἡρακ[λέου].

1 I. πλίστα χείρειν	2 ὀλόκληρον: λ corr.	3 I. Ταφύγχει θυγατρί	7 ἀλλά: λλ corr.
8 I. ἀπειλῶν: φ corr. (from ?)	10 I. εἶτε, εἶτε	12 I. δώρη?; τῇ	13-14 I. ἀλλήλους
15 ὑμων; I. ἡξιώμην	16 ἴνα	16-17 I. ἐνέκη	17 I. ἐκεῖ
19 I. τέτακτα	21 ἴνα,	23 I. θέλεις, οὐδεὶς	25 ὑμων?
26 ἡκούσαμε	35 ὑμας	37 I. κάναθα	
38 I. ἀσπάξεται; ὑμας, υἱος; I. Ἀμμωνοῦτος	39 I. ἀσπάξεται	40 I. ἀσπάξεται, θυγατέρα	
41 I. σαργάθων	43 I. ἐρρώσθαι	44 ἀπθ, πα'	

Ἡeraclēs to Cerdon his brother, very many greetings. Before all I pray to get you back in sound health, together with your sweetest daughter Taphynchis. I am surprised that you did not write me a letter. I wrote often to you, yearning for your friendship, while you wrote me only one letter, and didn't write

again to me, but wrote to my father, threatening me not a little. God alone knows that I make your obeisance every day either in the presence of men or in the presence of god (alone?). For I longed to salute you even by letter, until god gives (you) a good journey and we salute one another. For Cranas knows how I question him closely about you and your people and I kept asking him from the first trip to take something to you and he could not, because Heron, the owner of the camels, was there. And now I have asked him and permission has been granted me. So if (I get anything?), I shall send you something. So urge him to come to us without hesitation and write me what you need and by whom you wish me to send (it). ... Greet (?) Ammonius my brother and ... and Heras and ... and all our people. ... Greet ... and all in the household and write about your health. I pray for your health.

Left margin: 'Send us a few nice *sangatha*, as many as you can find.'

Back: 'Copres the son of Ammonius greets you ... Topastas greets you, as do Aphus and Ammonus and Helen and (your?, their?) father and mother. Helen greets your daughter. Don't forget about the *sangatha*. Greet Chenamun, the old lady, and her children, and the man who reads you the letter. We pray for your health.'

Address: 'Deliver to Cerdon my brother, from Heracles.'

1-2 *πρὸ μὲν πάντων*). Also frequent is *πρὸ μὲν παντός*.

5-6 *ἐπιζητῶν ... τῆς φίλας*. This verb usually governs an accusative; here it takes the genitive like some verbs of desiring, e.g. *ἐπιθυμῶ, ἐφίεμαι*. Perhaps, therefore, 'yearning for' is nearer the meaning than 'missing'.

9-11 On the *προσκύνημα* see G. Geraci, *Aegyptus* 51 (1971) 3-211. It is not known what ceremony precisely is implied by references to the *προσκύνημα* in papyri and inscriptions or whether a mention in a letter usually means that a ceremony really was performed, see Geraci, op. cit. 201-2, cf. LV 3809 3-7 n., but *παρά* is usually followed by a reference to a god, in later times to the Christian god. With *παρ' ἀνθρώπων* compare P. Lond. III 1244 (p. 244; = M. Naldini, *Il cristianesimo* No. 58). 3-4 *προηγούμενος* (l. *προηγ-*) *πολλά* *σε προσαγορεύω νυκτός και ἡμέρας τῷ ἄριστῳ θεῷ και παρά πάντι ἀνθρώποις προσκυνῆσαι* (l. *προσκ-*) *σοι* (l. *σου*) *τὸ [ε]ὐμάρφον και ἱλαρὸν πρόσωπον πρω[τ]ήτως* (l. *πρωτοτήτως*). Both texts seem to indicate the decay of the ceremony. Perhaps there may be a distinction between prayers in a public place of worship, *παρ' ἀνθρώπων*, and in private, *παρὰ θεῷ*.

11 *ε* ... *ε*. The repetition of personal pronouns is a feature of the colloquial style of the language of the documentary papyri, see H. C. Youtie, *Scriptunculae* ii 847, cf. F. Blass, A. Debrunner, F. Rehkopf, *Grammatik des neutestamentlichen Griechisch* 15 229 (§278).

12 *δώσει*. The parallelism of the construction *ἔστ' ἂν ... δώσει ... και προσκνησόμεν* indicates that a subjunctive is wanted. Probably this is the iotacistic equivalent of *δώσει*, formed by analogy with *λύσει* etc., cf. F. T. Gignac, *Grammar* ii 386-7, but the absence of an indirect object is also slightly awkward, so that it might represent *δῶσει*, where *ει* is the iotacistic equivalent of *σοι*. The fact that *σοι, μοι, and ἐμοί* appear correctly in the rest of the letter makes this last suggestion less likely.

14 *ὁ Κρανᾶς*. This name is unknown. It is a remote possibility that we ought to be interpreting the letters as *ὁ κρανάς*, 'he who ordained' or perhaps as a gnomic aorist, 'he who rules', as a reference to god, but the Christian dictionaries (W. Bauer, *Wörterbuch zum neuen Testament*, G. W. H. Lampe, *A Patristic Greek Lexicon*) do not record the poetic verb *κραίνω*, and a further objection is that in 15-17 this personage was unable to do something which was asked of him, which does not suit a pious reference to god.

15 *ἡξιώμην* (l. *ἡξιώμην*). For the false contraction see F. T. Gignac, *Grammar* ii 364-5. The middle voice of this verb is regularly confined to the senses 'deign, think fit', cf. LSJ s.v. *ἀξίω* III. 2. Compare and contrast *ἡξίωσα* (19).

16 *ἀπὸ τῆς πρώ[τ]ης φοράς*. After omega there are traces of a damaged letter, not deleted, which might be sigma; cf. perhaps XXXI 2600 2 *πράσεν* for *πράττειν* (or *πράσσειν*), with P. Petaus 10. 6 n. on interchange between *σ* and *τ*.

The meaning may be 'for the first time', cf. LSJ s.v. *φορά* A.6, but the relevance of this is not clear and in this context involving transport by camel (18) we should compare the numbered *φοραί* which refer to delivery journeys in accounts of transport, see H. C. Youtie, *Scriptunculae Posteriores* i 299-300 (=ZPE 21 (1976) 29-30), ii 517 (=ZPE 33 (1979) 205).

16-17 *ἐπέκη* (l. *ἐπέκη*). At the end of line 16 the crossbar of epsilon is extended and it seems that nothing more was added. For the variety of forms in this verb see F. T. Gignac, *Grammar* i 364, ii 448 s.v.

*φέρω*. The omission of nasals is a particularly common phonetic error, see Gignac, op. cit. i 111-119, esp. 116.

17-18 *διότι ἐκί* (l. *ἐκεῖ*) *ἦν Ἡρόν*, 'because Heron ... was there'. The meaning might be that Heron was elsewhere, not 'here', and therefore unavailable to give permission, in which case *αὐτόν* in 19 refers to Heron, or it might mean that he was present and therefore an obstacle, in which case *αὐτόν* in 19 would refer back to Cranas.

19 *ἡξίωσα*. Contrast *ἡξιώμην* (15).

*τέτακτέ* (l. *τέτακται*) *μοι*. The verb may be passive, 'it has been settled for me', as in the translation, 'permission has been granted me', or possibly it might be middle, 'he has agreed it with me', see LSJ s.v. *τάσσω* III.3b.

20 *λάβω*). The omitted matter may have been more substantial; the meaning is not very clear.

*και ὄν* is 'a very rare combination', J. D. Denniston, *The Greek Particles* 2 445.

22 *For γίνεσθαι*, 'to come, go', cf. H. C. Youtie, *Scriptunculae Posteriores* i 493 (=ZPE 31 (1978) 175). n. line 4.

23 *δι[ὰ τ]ῆς θέλει* (l. *θέλει*) *πέμψω*. If the restoration is right, *πέμψω* is a deliberative subjunctive depending directly on *θέλει*, see B. G. Mandilaras, *The Verb* 257 (§573).

25 *ἡμῶν*. Traces above the line resemble a diaeresis, which suggests this word, cf. app. 15, 35, 38.

31 *λαύρα* looks like *λαύρα* or *λαύρα*. Its application to the districts of Oxyrhynchus died out after the early second century, when it was replaced by *ἀμφοδον*, see S. Daris, *ZPE* 16 (1975) 25-6. It was still so used in other places. Other possibilities are that it means just 'street' in general, or perhaps 'monastery', cf. G. W. H. Lampe, *A Patristic Greek Lexicon* s.v., but this use seems to be very rare in Egypt: only SB III 6255. 3-4 (AD 515)? A plausible sense would be '(greet) ... all those living in our street', but no close parallel has been found.

36 Also possible is *ἐνθάμεθα*, cf. 43, and a little more may have followed, e.g. *ἔδελφε, or κύριε*.

37 *ἀλίγα κάναθα* (l. *κάναθα*) *καλά*, cf. 41. See introd. for the gender. In LI 3618 12 n. it is suggested that *ἐυλοκάναθα* may be a plant allied to berberis and used in that case to make charcoal to serve the forges of the Alexandrian mint. There *ξ* appears in the singular and is measured in *κεντήναρα*, hundredweights of Roman pounds (*λίτραι*). Elsewhere *κάναθα* is always singular and is sometimes measured in pounds. The use of the plural remains unexplained: it could imply, perhaps, that complete individual plants were wanted.

39 *Τοπακράς* is not in F. Preisigke, *Namenbuch*, or D. Foraboschi, *Onomasticon*.

42 *γραταν*. Cf. P. München III 120. 15 and n. This is now the fourth appearance in the papyri, cf. introd. para. 1.

*τὸν ἀναγινώσκοντα*. Cf. introd. para. 1. There may be a suggestion that the task of reading Heracles' letters to Cerdon was usually performed by the same man, whom Heracles knew slightly but not well enough to remember his name. Or perhaps the reader would be an anonymous slave. Or perhaps there was just a likelihood that whoever read it to him would be a mutual friend.

This may bear on the subject of literacy in Gracco-Roman Egypt, but it is not clear what the circumstances were. Although illiteracy was far from rare, it is possible that Cerdon was not illiterate but simply in the habit of having his letters read to him, cf. 3996 introd. para. 1. On the whole subject see now W. V. Harris, *Ancient Literacy*. It seems unlikely, on the other hand, that *τὸν ἀναγινώσκοντα* would be referring to a Christian *ἀναγινώστης*.

H. G. IOANNIDOU

### 3998. THONIS TO SYRAS AND CALLINICUS

32 4B.3/K(3)a

15 × 25.5 cm

Fourth century

In the prescript Thonis calls his correspondents 'my lords children', but in the rest of the letter he addresses himself to his 'daughter', Syras; a plausible guess might

be that Syras really was his daughter and that Callinicus was his son in law. On the loose use of terms of family relationship, see 3988 introd. para. 1.

As usual in private letters the circumstances are hard to understand. Thonis explains that in spite of a contractual duty to return before the twentieth of the month of Phamenoth, forced upon him by 'the Oxyrhynchites', he is obliged by the death of another member of the family, 'the husband of your sister Theodora', to stay away, and expects the delay to be prolonged until the second of the following month (Pharmuthi). He will make every effort to come as soon as he can. He acknowledges a letter from Syras and then goes on to the second main topic of his letter.

Someone has paid money for certain goods, but not yet taken possession of them, and he urges Syras to get hold of them. Damage here makes the exact sense uncertain. Then follow exchanges of greetings and the farewell formula, but a postscript, consisting mostly of an interesting itemized list of the goods, has been added in three long lines written downwards in the left margin across the fibres, cf. 3997 introd. para. 2.

The body of the letter is written along the fibres on a surface which was the recto of the roll from which the piece was cut, as proved by a sheet join running vertically close to the right edge. On the back is a damaged address in which only remains of τῆ θυγατρὶ can be identified, and signs of two patterns of the type associated with the packaging of letters. They show that the letter had two bindings, one about 7 cm from the foot and the other the same distance from the top. The piece was rolled up with the left edge of the letter proper inside, not the right edge, as was natural with longer rolls and usual even with letters. Then the roll was squashed flat and the free edge was tucked inside for its protection. Two bindings were tied around it, c. 7 cm from the ends, with c. 11.5 cm between them. Patterns were inked over the bindings and the address was written on one side of the package. Of this τῆ θυγα- is dimly legible between the binding patterns, ending very close to one of them. More traces of the address follow beyond that binding and extend to the edge which corresponds with the top of the letter. Before τῆ the traces are even scantier, so that it is difficult to discover where the address began.

Θῶνις Ζυράτι καὶ Καλλινίκω τοῖς κυρί-  
οις μο[υ] τέκνοις ἐν θεῶ κυρίῳ  
πλίστα χαίρει. (vac.)

τὸ προσκύνημα ὑμῶν ποιῶ καθ' ἐ-  
κάστην ἡμέρ[α]ν παρὰ τῷ κυρίῳ θεῶ. γινώ-  
σκω σε θέλω ὅτι κατεσχέθην ὑπὸ τῶν  
Ὁξυρυχειῶν καὶ ἐποίησάν μοι χειρογρα-  
φῆσαι μέχρι ἐκτά[δο]ς Φαμενώθ με καθι-  
σελθὴν μετὰ τῶν ἀδελφῶν σου καὶ πάν-

10 υ συνέχομαι μὴ δυνασθῶ πρὸς τὴν προ-  
θεσμίαν κατεσελθὴν διότι ἐτελεύτησεν ὁ  
ἀνὴρ τῆς ἀδελφῆς σου Θεοδώρα καὶ ἐν  
συνζητήσι εἰμὲι μετὰ τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ αὐ-  
τοῦ ἔνεκα τῶν τῆς θυγατρὸς αὐτῆς. κα-  
15 λῶς οὖν π[ο]ιήσης, κυρία μου θυγάτηρ, πο-  
λυπραγμονήσαι τί καὶ ἄλλοι χειρογραφῆ-  
σαντές 'τί μέλλουσι πράξαι. ἀλλὰ μὴ ἀμελήσης.  
προσδοκῶ γὰρ μέχρι δευτέρας ἀπελθὴν [. . .]  
πρὸς τὴν ἀδελφήν σου. ἐὰν μὲν δυνασθῶ  
20 πίξαι [αὐ]τούς, εὖ ἂν ἔχ[ο]ι, ἐὰν δὲ [. . .] . . . ]νω, πᾶν  
ποιῶ ἔλθιν. κ[α]ὶ γὰρ πρὸ τούτου η[. . .] . . . ]νω, πρ[ο]σ-  
κυνήσαι ὑμᾶς. ἔλαβὰ σου ἐπιστόλιον . . . ]νω. ὡνος  
καὶ ἐχ[ά]ρη ἀκούσας περὶ τῆς ὀλοκληρίας ὑμῶν(ν)  
καὶ τ[ῶν] παιδῶν ὑ[μ]ῶν. δη[. . .] ]νω. . . . ]νω. εἰ δ-  
25 τι, ἔδω[κα] τὸ ἀργύριον καὶ οὖπω [ἐ]σχον τὰ ἴδη'. κα-  
λῶς ο[δ]ν ποι[ή]σεις λαβὴν τὰ ἴδη. [ο]ὐ γὰρ ἀπεταξά-  
μην αὐτῶν. οὐ γὰρ οἶδε καὶ αὐ[τὸ]ς ὅτι οὐκ ἀπε-  
ταξ[ά]μ[η]ν? ταῦτα περὶ τῶν ἰδῶ[ν] . . . ]νω θυγάτηρ  
οὕτως . . . ]νω. . . ]νω. ἀπα[ξ]εταί . . . ]νω. . . ]νω.  
30 σου. ἀπαξεται καὶ ἡ ἀδελφή σου [. . . ]νω. ἀπα[ξ]ε-  
ζεται ὑμᾶς Εὐλόγις. ἀπαξεται [ὑμᾶς] Ἀπολλώνιος  
καὶ Θῶνις. ἀπαξε Καλλίνικον [καὶ] Κάλλιππο(ν)  
καὶ Θῶνιν καὶ Δημήτριον καὶ [. . . ]νω. (vac.)  
ἐρρώσθαι ὑμᾶς εὐχομαι ἵς τὸν . . . ]νω, κυρία μου  
35 (vac.) θυγάτηρ. (vac.)

Downwards in the left margin:

πᾶν ποιήσης λαβοῦσα τὰ ἴδη πάντα. ἔστιν δὲ τὸ κατ' ἰδέα[ν] τὸ  
β]ασκαύλι[ον] καὶ τ[ὸ] κάδιον βαλανί[ον] καὶ ὁ κόκκομα[ς]  
καὶ ἡ κρεμαστὴ λυχνία καὶ τ[ὸ] ξέστην καὶ τὸν λυχρον ἔχοντα  
ἀλώπηκα καὶ τὸ πελίκιον καὶ τὰ δύο ἐνώ-  
δια σὺν τοῖς πινάροις αὐτῶν (vac.) καὶ τὰ ἐπωμίδια δύο καὶ τῆν  
λίτραι τ[ὸ] ἐπιπέου τρυφερά.

Upwards along the fibres of the back:

... τῆ θυγα (vac?)...

3 l. πλείστα χαίρε 4 ὕμων 5 6 l. γνώσκειν 7 οἰζυρῆ/χέτων; 1. Ὀξυρῆ/χγτων, με  
7-8 l. χειρογραφῆσαι 8-9, 11 l. κατεσελθεῖν 13 l. συζητήσαι ἐμὶ 15 l. ποιήσεις, θυγάτερ  
16-17 χειρογραφῆσαντες: ε cogn. from ι 18 l. ἀπελθεῖν 20 l. πέσαι 21 l. ἐλθεῖν 22 ὕμας;  
l. ἐπιστόλιον 23 ὕμῳ 24 ὕ[μ]ων 25, 26 l. εἶδη 26 l. λαβεῖν, εἶδη 28 ἰδω[ν]:  
l. εἰδῶν 30 l. σε 31 ὕμας; l. Ἐδλόγιος 32 l. ὄθων; καλλιπσο 34 ι: l. εἰς  
35 l. θυγάτερ 36 ἰδη: l. εἶδη, κἀδιον, βαλανεῖον 37 l. ἀλώπεκα 37-8 l. ἐνώτια  
38 l. πναρίους; σπ' πεου; l. σιππέιου, τρυφεροῦ?

'Thonis to Syras and Callinicus, my lords children, very many greetings in the lord god. I make your obeisance every day in the presence of the lord god. I want you to know that I was detained by the Oxyrhynchites and they made me give a written agreement that I would return by the twentieth of Phamenoth with your brothers, but I am absolutely constrained and cannot return by the due date, because your sister Theodora's husband has died and I am in dispute with his brother about her daughter's affairs. You will do well, my lady daughter, to inquire what the others who have made agreements for some purpose are going to do. But do not forget, for I expect to go off to your sister until the second of the month. If I manage to persuade them, it would be a good thing, but if ... I shall make every effort to come. For even before this (I had hoped?) to salute you (in person?). I received your letter ... and rejoiced to hear of the health of you both and of your children. ... that, 'I gave the money and I did not get the goods yet'. So you will do well to get the goods. For I did not waive claim to them. Doesn't he know that I did not waive claim? So much for(?) the goods. ... Your ... greet(s) you?. Your sister ... as greets you. Eulogius greets you. Apollonius and Thonis greet you. Greet Callinicus and Callippus and Thonis and Demetrius and ... I pray for your health for ..., my lady daughter.'

Margin:

'Make every effort to get all the goods. Here is the itemized list: the washbasin and the pail for the bath and the cooking pot (cauldron or boiler?) and the hanging lamp and the pint pot (ewer?) and the lamp that has a fox and the hatchet and the two earrings with their pearls and the two shoulder pieces(?) and the pound of fine tow.'

Address:

'... to (Syras) his daughter ...'

3 πλείστα χαίρει (l. πλείστα χαίρε). Cf. 3999 2, which is the only known parallel. This is the product of the interaction of two different formulas, i.e. πλείστα χαίρειν and the rarer imperative χαίρε, which is usually the first word rather than the last and accompanied by the vocative rather than the usual dative, cf. F. X. Exler, *A Study in Greek Epistolography* 35-6, H. Koskenniemi, *Studien zur Idee und Phraseologie des griechischen Briefes* 164-7. An additional cause of surprise is the singular form so close to the prescript addressed to two persons. Thonis continues throughout the letter to address Syras particularly, with occasional recollections of Callinicus.

4-5 The initial greeting 'in the lord god' has every appearance of being a Christian one, although it has been argued that 'the lord god' is not specific to Christianity; the obeisance formula is typically pagan. The matter is discussed by G. Geraci, *Aegyptus* 51 (1971) 197-200, with references to other probably Christian obeisances; the clearest example was published after Geraci's work by H. C. Youtie, *ZPE* 28 (1978) 265-8 (= *Scriptumculae Posteriores* i 451-4).

5-11 It is impossible to know what was happening here. The mention below of ἄλλο χειρογραφῆσαντές τῶ (16-17) suggests that he is one of a group or category subject to a contractual obligation, probably in connection with taxes or public services, cf. e.g. LV 3795 introd. para. 1.

The manner of the reference to 'the Oxyrhynchites' rather suggests that he did not regard himself as one of them, which is surprising. He may have been a villager rather than a metropolitan, or possibly a citizen of some other place.

8-9 καθισελθῶν, cf. 11 κατεσελθῶν (l. κατεσελθεῖν). For phonetic confusion of θ and τ see F. T. Gignac, *Grammar* i 92-3.

For the meaning 'to return home' see especially P. Tebt. II 353. 6 ἀπ' ἀναχωρήσεως κατ(ε)σεληλυθός. Cf. 3999 21 n.

9-10 πάν[υ]. This is a false division of syllables, cf. E. G. Turner, *Greek Manuscripts of the Ancient World*<sup>2</sup> 17 (19-20). The nu is cramped and distorted, which probably indicates that the writer knew that he was in difficulty with his layout.

10 ὄνασθῶ, cf. 19. See Gignac, *Grammar* ii 318-9.

12-13 ἐν συζητήσῃ (l. συζητήσαι) ... μετὰ κτλ., 'in dispute ... with'. It is not perfectly clear that Thonis and the dead man's brother were adversaries. In that case πρὸς would be more classical, but it is easier to imagine that Thonis was defending his granddaughter's interests against those of her father's brother than to picture them as allies against some other party.

15 θυγάτηρ. For nominative in place of vocative in this word see Gignac, *Grammar* ii 62, cf. below 35 and perhaps 28.

19-22 The plural [αὐ]τούς looks like a reference back to the Oxyrhynchites: he will try to persuade them to allow him an extension of time; if they will not be persuaded (ἐὰν δὲ [μὴ] θέ[λω]σιν; but this cannot be confirmed), he will make every effort to come, that is to comply with his contract, especially since he wants to see his daughter and her family. In 21 the traces might possibly be consistent with ἡλγίζε[ν]. . . , but this forces the spacing and is not fully convincing.

22 ελαβα. Cf. 3988 4 n.

ἐπιστόλιον. Cf. 3988 5 n.

22-9 The difficulties have not been solved. Clearly it is the recipient, Syras, who is to take possession of the goods, see 36, but another person seems to be involved, see *οἶδε* (27).

31 Ἐδλόγιος (= -ιος). Cf. 3988 5 n.

34 The traces do not appear to fit αἰῶνα: αἰ- could suit, but the next letter has an oblique like the lower left part of lambda or chi. Cf. P. Mich. VIII 481. 36 ἐρρώσθαί σε εὐχόμεαι εἰς αἰών[α], P. Laur. II 39. 10-11 ... εἰς μακρὸν αἰῶνα, XLI 2982 28 ... εἰς μακροῦς αἰῶνας, X 1299 20 ... [ε]ἰς πολλοὺς χρόνους.

35 Cf. 15 n.

36 τὸ κατ' ἰδέ[ν]. We expect rather τὸ κατ' εἶδος, cf. P. Achmim 8. 42, P. Col. VII 188. 7, VI 937 22, SB X 10530. 4, 18, but ἰδε is clear. Perhaps he felt he had repeated εἶδος too often already.

βασκαύλιον was perhaps here spelled βασκαῦλον, cf. κἀδιον (36), πελύκιον (37) and 3988 5 n. The word is variously explained as from Latin *uasculum* (I 109 22 n.: βασκαύλης), from a Jewish word seen also in *μασκαύλης*, 'laver' (P. Cair. Isid. 137. 3 n.: πασκαῦλον), and from a British Celtic word seen in Latin as *bascanda* (B. Meinersmann, *Die lateinischen Wörter* 9-10, 105, J. Kramer, *ZPE* 51 (1983) 117-8); cf. perhaps P. Ryl. IV 627. 82 βάσκαυλα. According to Latin glossaries *bascandae* are *conchae aeseae, genera uasorum*, see G. Goetz, CGL VI 130 (index), which suggests that 'laver, washbasin' is the correct sense. If so, perhaps it may be that several items in this list can be seen together as equipment for the bathroom, cf. next note.

κἀδιον βαλαν[ο]ν (= κἀδιον βαλανεῖον). This was probably a smallish bucket-shaped vessel used to pour water over a bather, a *situla*. It would be very unwieldy in pot, so perhaps it was in bronze, as the washbasin just preceding seems likely to have been, see above. The two silver examples in the Seuso treasure give an idea of the shape and size envisaged, roughly 30 cm high and 25 cm in diameter at the base, which in these examples is the widest part, see M. Mango, *Antike Welt* 21. 2 (1990) 83-4, Abb. 15.

We could possibly take this item as an indication that several of these pieces were for use in the bathroom, i.e. a basin and ewer (?), βασκαῦλιον (36), ξέστρη (37), a bath bucket (36) and a boiler, rather than a cooking pot, κόκκομα[ε] (36), see notes. However, πασκαῦλον (= βασκ.), κόκκομα, ξέστρη, and πελύκιον (cf. 37) all appear together in P. Cair. Isid. 137 with no indication that they are bathroom equipment, while the frying pan there (δῆγανον = τήγανον, 5) rather suggests that they belong to the kitchen.

ὀ κόκκομα[ε]. The masculine article suggests the restoration of a sigma, but this is doubtful in view of the range of Greek forms representing Latin *cucina*: κόκκομα (nom. for acc.?, cf. 5 ξέστρη, 9 ὕνιν, 10 βούν; therefore fem.?) a, P. Cair. Isid. 137. 4; κόκκομα ἐφραγεμένον (acc.; therefore masc.?), P. Giss. Univ. III 25. 8-9; κόκκομα (acc.) ἐλαίου, VIII 1160 23; κόκκ[?]ισμα (acc.?), P. Ross-Georg. V 5. 10; κόκκομα (sic; = κόκκομα, or -μου?) μικρὸν (= μικρόν) a, P. Wash. Univ. I 58. 18; κόκκομα χάλκου a, Stud. Pal. XX 67 recto 16; κοκκοῦμα a, X 1290 3; κοκκοῦμα a, XIV 1658 9; τὸ κοκκοῦμα τ[ο]ῦ θέρμου, P. Strasb. VIII 736. 11; κοκκοῦμ( ) χάλκ( ) a, P. Grenf. II 111 (=W. Chr. 135). 23; [εἰς] κόλλην κοκκοῦμ( ) (8p.) ρ,

P. Ryl. IV 639. 71 (cf. 228 κοικ[;]; κοικκου[μ- P. Apoll. 95 fr. A.6. In P. Hamb. I 10. 36 κοικκόμανα β might possibly represent κόκομαν α followed by something corrected by the clerk; the most likely thing is that it was α (= 'one') as well, but botched and therefore rewritten close to the noun. This is under the heading χαλκόματα, 'items of bronze', which makes it almost sure to be relevant to our word. However, there is a similar puzzle in κοκκομαρς, P. Amh. II 126 (=P. Sarap. 55). 30, between 'oil' and 'salt', which may be attributable to some other word entirely. In Stud. Pal. XX 164. 2 παράχ(ου) Ψείει κοικκουμ(ι) νο(μικμάτια) οε, the abbreviated form could represent an occupation, a patronymic, or a nickname or alias. κοικκουμ and κοικκουμ also appear in the Latin-Greek glossaries, see G. Goetz, CGL VI 290 s.v. *cucuma* (index). A Greek masculine form with alpha in the ending occurs here and in P. Giss. Univ. III 25. 8-9, *κοικκουμαν ἐσφραγισμένον*. In P. Cair. Isid. 137. 4 *κοικκόμα* looks like a feminine nominative; other forms with alpha are ambiguous in gender. See F. T. Gignac, *Grammar* ii 8-9 on changes of declension in loan words from Latin, including this one. The variant phonetic spellings, *ov/o* in the first two syllables and the doubling of the medial kappa, represent common phenomena, see Gignac, *Grammar* i 217-226, 160-1.

One reference in Latin to *cucuma* shows that it has some connection with the bathroom; this is Martial X 79. 4. The poem is a jibe at a snob who tried to model himself in small ways on a man of consular rank; when one was consul, the other was *uici magister*; one had a villa four miles from Rome, the other bought a *breue rus* (a cottage?); one planted a grove of bay trees, the other sowed a hundred chestnuts; one built marble *thermae*, the other *cucumant fecit*. TLL and Lewis and Short suggest that therefore *cucuma* means some sort of bath, OLD says that it is used 'humorously, of a small bath'. They are probably wrong. The point is that the *cucuma* is a vessel which can be put on the fire to heat the contents; this emerges directly from the Latin-Greek glossaries, which give for it *θερμοφόρον, cacabus, caldarius*, see G. Goetz, CGL VI 290 s.v. (index); Isidorus of Seville 20. 8. 3 says, '*cacabus et cucuma a sono feruoris cognominantur*', which broadly confirms the purpose for which the *cucuma* was used, regardless of his accuracy. In Martial the poorer man cannot build hot baths in marble like his hero, but he has a cauldron or boiler made to heat his bath water. Following the clue of the *κάδιν βαλαν[ι]ο* (36), it may be worth suggesting that this one too belongs to the bathroom or bathhouse.

Three of the above references show us that the vessel could be made of bronze: Stud. Pal. XX 67 recto 16, P. Grenf. II 111 (=W. Chr. 135). 23, P. Hamb. I 10. 36 (with *χαλκόματα*, 35); another refers to soldering, which implies metal: P. Ryl. IV 639. 71 (cf. 227); a reference in Digest 48. 8. 1. 3 to the use of a key or a *cucuma* as a weapon in a brawl, which is evidence of the absence of premeditation in a crime, indicates that they were also made in iron: *sed si clauis percusserit* (cf. LI 3644 19-23) *aut cucuma in rixa, quamuis ferro percusserit, iactem non occidendi animo*. TLL IV 1281-2 gives a few references to examples in pot. Bronze is perhaps the most likely in the present case, see above on *βασκαύλιον*.

The shape is not precisely known, but Petronius, *Sat.* 135-6 shows that the exam<sup>1</sup>le there had a neck: *cucumam ingentem foco apposuit* (135. 4); then, as the result of an accidental fall, *frangitur ... ceruix cucumulae* (the same vessel, not, therefore, as in OLD, 'a (small) cooking-vessel') *ignemque ... restinguit* (136. 2). This eases the problem of why such a vessel might be used as a container of oil or lupine seeds, see above, and it is of course sensible that a vessel designed to be heated on the fire should have a comparatively narrow mouth, if not a lid, like a modern kettle, to keep the heat in.

37 *ἡ κρεμαστὴ λυχνία*. For hanging lamps in bronze, which may be the most likely material here, see above on *β]αεκαύλι[ον* and *κόκκομα[ε]*, cf. e.g. H. B. Walters, *Catalogue of the Greek and Roman Lamps in the British Museum* Pl. II-V, cf. XXXVII, M. de' Spagnolis, E. De Carolis, *Le Lucerne* (Museo Nazionale Romano. I bronzi IV. 1) 21-3, 26, 28, 42-3, 50, 59, 64, 67, 69, 80, 88, 90-100. They might also be in clay, cf. e.g. D. M. Bailey, *Catalogue of the Lamps in the British Museum* ii 389-91, and Pl. 89, or in glass, see D. B. Harden, *Roman Glass from Karanis* 155-7.

ξέρην. This might be either a measure or a just a vessel, see G. Goetz, CGL VII 590 s.v., with the interpretations 'τὸ ἄγγος urceolus, τὸ μέτρον sextarius'. It seems that the word *χερμιβόξενον*, which occurs in the papyri three times: Stud. Pal. XX 151. 10, P. Amst. I 87. 8, P. Wash. Univ. I 59. 13, means a set of basin and ewer for washing one's hands, see E. A. Sophocles, *Greek Dictionary* s.v., cf. P. Grenf. II 111. 6 n.; it seems clear that ξέρης, which originally means a pint measure, from *sextarius*, must be hollow ware and not flatware, and that therefore in that church inventory it must be the silver flagon to match the three silver chalices which precede it. In our case it may be the ewer or water jug which goes with the basin, see above on *β]αεκαύλι[ον*.

ἀλόσπραν (= ἀλόσπεκα). Eta for epsilon is probably a mistake in declension, rather than a phonetic error, although that is possible, see Gignac, *Grammar* i 244 6; erroneous addition of final nu is due to contemporary pronunciation, see *ibid.* 113-4.

For the fox as a motive on clay lamps, which is rare, cf. D. M. Bailey, *Catalogue of Lamps in the British Museum* iii 73-4. For Egyptian clay lamps in general see Eva-Maria Cahn-Klaiber, *Die antiken Tonlampen des archäologischen Instituts der Universität Tübingen* 125-262. Bronze lamps have various animals as decoration and might well have had a fox, but none has been traced on this occasion.

πελόκιον (= -κιον). Cf. 3988 5 n.

37-8 ἐνώδια (= -τια). Cf. Gignac, *Grammar* i 83. For earrings with pearls cf. e.g. P. Herm. 64. 3-4, X 1273 10, SB VI 9372. 12-13.

38 πινάροις (= -ρίους). Cf. Gignac, *Grammar* i 302-3.

ἐπωμῖδια. This word seems to exist only as the name of a variety of harness or ornament for a horse, Appian, *Mith.* 115: *καὶ ἵππων χαλνοὶ καὶ προστερνῖδια καὶ ἐπωμῖδια*. In our context it seems likely to be an item of dress or ornament, obviously associated in some way with the shoulder, cf. LSJ s.v. *ἐπωμῖς* II, but no real clue to a more precise description has been discovered. One possibility might be a pair of brooches holding a garment at the shoulders, cf. J. P. Wild, *Latomus* 24 (1965) 610-13, esp. 611 fig. 1.

επιπέτου. For the spelling see Gignac, *Grammar* i 66-7; for the diacritical mark see app. crit., cf. *ibid.* 163-5; for the substance of P. Mich. XIV 680. 3 n.

τροφερὰ. In spite of some slight damage the final letter seems to be the inconvenient alpha; read *τροφεροῦ*. It means 'of fine quality', cf. especially LIV 3753 17-20, where *τροφεροῦ* is the most expensive of three qualities, *τροφεροῦ, κοινοῦ, ὑποδεεστεροῦ(ν) χωρικ(ῶν)*.

39 Cf. introd. para. 4.

H. G. IOANNIDOU

### 3999. APHUS TO HERACLAMMON

28 4B.60/C(10-12)a

12.5 × 25 cm

Fourth century

The writer of this letter, Aphus, reports on his efforts to exact from a person called Didymus a debt due to the recipient, Heraclammon. First he had to find Didymus, which he did by persistently making himself unpleasant to Dioscorus, whose 'brother' Didymus was; see 3988 introd. on the ambiguity of the term 'brother'. He had found Didymus the day before the letter was written and had with difficulty got him to make a written agreement in respect of thirty talents which Heraclammon had disbursed as wages. Aphus advises Heraclammon that if he comes in person he may be able to exact the debt. The difficulty is that some persons, presumably Didymus and his family or Didymus and Dioscorus together, are so poor that they do not even have enough bread to eat and no one else will advance the money on their security.

The introductory prayer 'before the lord god' is probably, but not certainly, an indication that Aphus was a Christian, cf. 3998 4-5 n. The letter probably belongs to the first half of the fourth century.

The writing runs along the fibres, but there is no sheet join to prove that this side is the recto of the original roll from which the piece was cut.

The letter was packaged for dispatch in a slightly unusual way. It was rolled up with the left edge inside and squashed flat; the exposed right edge was tucked inside



the flat package, which was then bent in half head to foot and tied up. The package must have looked somewhat similar to the sealed letter shown in W. Schubart, *Einführung in die Papyruskunde* Taf. IV No. 14; in our case the binding was close to the joined ends, not in the middle. The address was written along the fibres in two lines on the side corresponding with the foot of the letter, and patterns were inked over the binding on both sides of the package. Each pattern is a rectangle with two diagonals and a third internal line cutting their intersection parallel with the height of the letter and longer side of the rectangle. The removal of the binding has removed the central parts of both patterns. The doubling of the rolled and flattened letter has led to serious damage in the middle section of the text.

The Greek, if colloquial, is better than might be suggested by the phonetic spellings, all of which are well paralleled, cf. in general F. T. Gignac, *Grammar* i.

Ἀφούς τῷ κυρίῳ μου ἀδελφῷ Ἡρακλάμμων[ι  
 πλίστα χεῖραι. πρὸ μὲν πάντων εὐχομέε  
 ὑγένιν καὶ ὀλοκληρὴν παρὰ τῷ κυρίῳ θεῷ.  
 γινώσκω σε θέλω, κύριέ μου, ὅτι πώσα  
 5 ἐπήγα μετὰ Διοσκόρου περὶ τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ  
 αὐτοῦ Διδύμου καὶ λέ(γ)ει μὲν ὅτι, 'παρέδω-  
 κα αὐτὸν Ἡρακλάμμωνα. νῦν οὖν οὐκ ὕ-  
 दा ποῦ ἐστιν'. καθ' ἐκάστην ἡμέραν ἀειδίαν  
 πνῶ ματ' αὐτοῦ ἔνεκαί τούτο(ν). καὶ νῦν  
 10 οὖν εἶδον αὐτὸν τῶν Διδύμων Φαρμοῦθι  
 μινὶ κγ̄ κ[. . .]τ[ε[. . .]ε. . .δ[. . .]ω[. . . .  
 λησεωσε[. . . . .]. . .[. . .]. . .[. . . . .  
 καὶ ὑπαρ. [ c. 15 letters  
 διότι οὐδε [ c. 12 letters ]χα  
 15 καὶ πινῶσι [ c. 8 οὐδ]ίς ἔλα-  
 βεν ἐπ' ἐγγ[ύην c. 12 ]ν (vac.)  
 Δίδυμον πηῆσαι [ . . . ]. χιρόγραφον  
 τῶν τριάκοντα ταλάντων (vac.)  
 ἃ ἔδωκεσ καλάρων. μῶ(γ)εις τοῦτο  
 20 ἔχουκα αὐτῷ πηῆσαι. νυνεὶ δέ, <ἐάν> εὐ  
 αὐτὸς δύνῃ εἰσελθεῖν, τάχα δύνασαι  
 αὐτὸν πράξαι. ἐγὼ γὰρ οὐδὲν αὐτῷ ἔχου-  
 κα πηῆσαι, διότι οὐδὲ τὸ ψωμῖν ἔχου-  
 κυν οὐδὲ οὐδὲ ἔλαβαι αὐτοὺς ἐπ' ἐγγύην.

25 ἀσπάζομαι πολλὰ τὴν σύνβιον σου  
 καὶ τὰ τέκνα σου κατ' ὄνομα. (vac.)  
 ἐρρώσθαι ὑμᾶς εὐχόμεαι πολλοῖς χρόνοις.  
 Φαρμοῦθι κδ̄. (vac.)

Back, upwards along the fibres:

(design) (vac.) [(vac.)? Ἡρ]ακλάμμων(ι)  
 30 (vac.) [(vac.)? ]π(αρά) Ἀφούτος ἀδελφοῦ. (design)

2 l. πλίστα χεῖραι, εὐχόμεαι 3 ὑγένιν: l. ὑγιαίνειν, ὀλοκληρεῖν 4 l. γινώσκω, πώσα 5 l. ἐπήγα  
 6 l. λέγει μοι 7 l. Ἡρακλάμμωνι 7-8 l. οὐδα 8 l. ἀηδῖαν 9 l. ποῖα μετ' αὐτοῦ ἔνεκα  
 10 l. τὸν Διδύμον 11 l. μινὶ 13 ὑπαρ. [ 15 l. οὐδεῖς 16 l. ἐγγύην 17 l. ποιῆσαι,  
 χειρόγραφον 19 l. καλάρων, πινῶσι, μόνις 20 ἔχουκα; l. ποιῆσαι 22-3 ἔχουκα 23 l. ποιῆσαι,  
 ψωμῖν 24 l. οὐδεῖς ἔλαβε; ἐπ' ἐγγύην: π corr. from π̄, γ corr. from γ; l. ἐπ' ἐγγύην 25 l. σύνβιον  
 27 l. εὐχόμεαι, χρόνοις 30 π̄(?) = π(αρά)

'Aphus to my lord brother Heraclammon, very many greetings. Before all I pray for your health and well being before the lord god. I want you to know, my lord, that I have done ever so much with Dioscorus about his brother Didymus, and he says to me, 'I have handed him over to Heraclammon. So now I don't know where he is'. I cause an unpleasantness with him every day because of this. So now at last I found Didymus himself, on the 23rd of the month of Pharmuthi. . . and they are hungry . . . no one took (them) on bail . . . Didymus to make . . . an agreement for the thirty talents which you gave as salary. With difficulty I prevailed with him to do this. But now, if you can come (back?) yourself, perhaps you will be able to exact (them?) from him. For I could not prevail with him to do anything, because they do not even have bread and no one took them on bail. I give many greetings to your wife and your children by name. I pray for your health for many years. Pharmuthi 24.'

Address: 'To Heraclammon, from Aphus his brother.'

2 πλίστα χεῖραι (= πλίστα χεῖραι). For the unusual form of the greeting see 3998 3 n.  
 3 παρὰ τῷ κυρίῳ θεῷ. Cf. 3998 2, 5, and 4-5 n.  
 4 πώσα (= πώσα) here seems to mean 'ever so much', 'a great deal', virtually equivalent to πλίστα, cf. P. Mich. VIII 473, 31 and n. The same usage is now probably to be recognized in LVI 3865 56. Compare the similar use of ποσάκις to mean 'ever so often', 'very often', like πλειστάκις, see LV 3816 6 n.  
 6 λέ(γ)ει. Cf. 19 n.  
 14-15 πινῶσι is probably to be interpreted as an iotacism for πινῶσι, 'they are hungry', in the light of 23-4 διότι οὐδὲ τὸ ψωμῖ(ο)ν ἔχουσι, 'because they do not even have bread', which may well be echoed in line 14.  
 15-16 οὐδ]ίς ἔλαβεν ἐπ' ἐγγύην (l. οὐδεῖς, ἐγγύην). Cf. 24. The expression has not been found elsewhere. 'No one took them on pledge' seems to mean that no one will give a pledge that they will be able to pay, or possibly that no one will produce the money on their promise to repay.  
 18 At this date thirty talents would be a smallish sum, as is implied by the description of it as 'salary', but in this period inflation was so rapid that without a fixed date it is impossible to make comparisons, cf. R. S. Bagnall, *Currency and Inflation in Fourth Century Egypt* 61-72.  
 19 ἄ. There is a mark to the left of the top of the alpha which could be interpreted as rough breathing, but the form is not the normal one and breathings usually occur along with other signs of literary pride or ambition.  
 μῶ(γ)εις (= μόνις), cf. 6 λέ(γ)ει, and F. T. Gignac, *Grammar* i 71-3.  
 20 νυνεὶ (= νυνί) δέ, <ἐάν> . . . δύνῃ. An alternative might be to place a full stop after νὼν and continue εἰ δέ . . . δύνῃ; cf. B. G. Mandilaras, *The Verb* 270 (§601) for εἰ with the subjunctive, but δύνῃ itself can

represent the second person present indicative of the analogical form of the same verb, *δύνομαι*, op. cit. 75 (§97), F. T. Gignac, *Grammar* ii 384. However, although the New Testament fluctuates between *δύνη* and *δύναται*, it seems unlikely that both are indicative here, and *ὦν* would sit very awkwardly at the end of the sentence.

21 *εἰσελθεῖν*, 'to come/go in', 'arrive', looks here as if it means 'return', cf. 3998 8–9 n.

H. G. IOANNIDOU

4000. APION TO AMMONIANUS

63 6B.72/C(1–3)a

11 × 25.5 cm

Late fourth century

The introductory prayer to divine providence probably indicates that this is a Christian letter, see 3–4 n. It is almost entirely about business matters, mostly private, but lines 16–22 relate to an *ἐπιμέλεια*, the public service post of supervisor, *ἐπιμελητής*; see N. Lewis, *The Compulsory Public Services* 27–8 for the wide variety of such appointments. All that we learn about this one is that it concerned the collection of money.

These same lines imply that Ammonianus, the addressee, was to be found in Alexandria, along with some companions (*ὕμας*, 17). This leads us to wonder why in that case the letter was unearthed at Oxyrhynchus. It may have been brought there by the recipient, but there is a possibility that it was a file copy written on a bit of scrap paper. At five places in the left margin there are traces of writing intruding from the left. This could mean that the clerk wrote at least two letters, or perhaps duplicate letters, on the same piece and later divided them, but it may be more likely that he has used a piece of scrap paper which he cut out of a used roll. This view is favoured by a patch, a strip about 2 cm wide and 7 cm tall pasted on. It reaches to the bottom edge and has parts of lines 21–9 (e.g. *φησεται* 21) written over it. It is particularly noticeable because its surface fibres run vertically, while the rest of the writing runs along the fibres of the main piece. There is no sheet join to prove that this side was the recto of the original roll. The patch presumably covers a defect in the writing surface, and is perhaps more likely to have been put on when the piece was used for a second time.

On the other hand, a possible sign that the letter really was sent in the normal way is the presence of traces of writing on the back, where an address would be expected. Unfortunately it is so faded or abraded that nothing has so far proved legible on that side.

The most striking indication of the date is the mention of myriads of myriads of denarii, line 6. This terminology is confined to the second half of the fourth century, by which time inflation had forced the use of very high figures for accounting, see R. S. Bagnall, *Currency and Inflation* 12.

The writing is a careless but very fluent cursive, tall and laterally compressed. Its appearance of official competence makes a strange contrast with the frequent phonetic spellings; those so routine as to receive no comment here can be traced in F. T. Gignac,

*Grammar* i. A good parallel is a letter with very similar writing and spelling in XLVIII 3396 (Pl. V, VI). This comes from an archive with dated documents ranging from AD 331 to 371, see P. Oxy. XLVIII pp. 74–5; it too refers to myriads of myriads (line 17), and so belongs at the end of the range, in the sixties or seventies.

There is in fact a probable link with that archive, see 26–7 n., but 4000 is not certainly part of it, especially since the 6B element in the inventory number shows that it was found during the sixth season of excavations, while the archive emerged in the fifth.

κυρίῳ μο[υ πατρ]ῆ Ἀμμωνιανῶ

Ἀπίων χ(αίρειν).

τῇ θεῖᾳ προνοίᾳ εὐχομαί σοι ὑπενεῖν καὶ εὐ-  
θυμοῦντι ἀπολάβῃς τὰ παρ' ἐμοῦ γράμματα.

5 σπούδασον, κύριέ μου πάτερ, δοῦναι Ὁριγᾶτι

εἰς λόγων τη. . . . μυριάδα(ς) μυριάδων

μίαν καὶ μυριάδας διχιλίας, καὶ εἰς

λόγων τοῦ μεγάλου αὐξήνου νομ(ισμάτων) α,

μυρ(ιάδας) Ἐπ. καὶ ποιήσων Χρῶν τὸν βοηθ(όν)

10 Ἡρακλείῳ παρασχεῖν {αυ}τῶ αὐτῶ Ὁριγᾶτι

εἰς λόγων τῶν προφρυῶν νομ(ισμάτων) β, μυρ(ιάδας) | .ψπ.

καὶ περὶ Μαξεντίου κατέσχον τὸ ναύλο

αὐτοῦ ε. . . . . [ . . . ] .φαι. . . . . καὶ ἀν-

τέστη στι, ἥδη. . . . . δέδωκα αὐτῶ

15 [κ]αὶ ἥδη ἐξέπλεξα μετ' αὐτοῦ, καὶ οὕτως

ἐπλήρωσα αὐτόν. καὶ περὶ τῆς ἐπιμελίας

θαυμάζωμεν ὑμᾶς πῶς ἀφίτε ἡμᾶς,

καθήμενοι ἐπὶ τῆς Ἀλεξανδρείας,

μηδὲν ποιοῦνται, μηδὲ ἀποστέλλο(ν)ται

20 τὴν λοιπάδαν τῶν ἀργυρίων {κα} ὧν ἐχι-

ρογραφῆσεται κα, ὡς, εἰ ἀποστέλλεται τὴν

λοιπάδαν, ἐν τάχει ἀποστίλται. ἰ δὲ μή,

γράψεται ἡμῖν. τὴν λοιπάδαν δὲ τῶν

ἀκαντίνων ἀποστίλται ἐν ψατίοις

25 δύο. καὶ περὶ τῶν δύο ἀρταβῶν τῶν

κολληουρίων ὧν ἐγραψά σοι τοῦ Σερήνου

τοῦ (ἐκατοντάρχου) ἀποστίλται. ἄσπασον τοὺς ἡμῶν

πάντας κατ' ὄνομα. ἐρρώσθαι εὐχομαι

πολλοῖς χρόνοις.

2 χσ	3 I. ce; ύνεινει: I. ύγιαίνειν	3-4 I. εθθυμούττα ἀπολαβεῖν?	6 I. λόγον, μυριάδα
μυριάδων	8 I. λόγον, ἄξονος; νομῶ	9 μὲρ ; I. ποιήσον, Χωοῖν?; βοθη	11 I. λόγον; νομῶ
μὲρ , ψπ	16 I. ἐπιμελείας	17 I. θαυμάζομεν, ἀφέιτε	19 I. ποιούτες, ἀποτέλλοντες
20 I. λοιπάδα	20-21 I. ἐχειρογραφήσατε	21 I. ἀποτέλλετε	22 I. λοιπάδα, τάχει ἀποτέλλετε;
21 I. εἶ	23 I. γράψατε, λοιπάδα	24 I. ἀκανθίων ἀποτέλλετε, ψαθίσις	26 I. κολλούριων
27 χ; I. ἀποτέλλετε			

'To my lord father Ammonianus, Apion, greetings. I pray to divine providence that you may be well and receive my letter in good spirits. Make sure, my lord father, to give Horigas on account of ... one myriad of myriads and two thousand myriads (of denarii; = den. 120,000,000), and on account of the large axle, sol. 1, den. myr. 2,380 (= den. 23,800,000). And make Choüs(?), assistant of Heraclius, deliver to the same Horigas on account of the purples sol. 2, den. myr. n, 780 (= den. myr. n7,800,000). And as for Maxentius, I retained his freight money ... and he retorted, 'I have already given him ... and I already worked it out with him', and so I paid him in full. And as for the supervisorship, we are surprised that you abandoned us, while you sit in Alexandria, doing nothing, not even sending the remainder of the monies for which you made an agreement (21?). So, if you are sending the remainder, send it quickly; if not, write to us. Send the rest of the acacia wood in two reed baskets. As as for the two artabas of buns belonging to Serenus the centurion, of which I wrote you, send them. Greet all our own people name by name. I pray for your health for many years.'

3-4 The prayer to divine providence was considered, with due reserve, to be a probable criterion of Christianity by M. Naldini, *Il Cristianesimo* 14. The reserve was stressed subsequently by G. Tibiletti, *Le Lettere Private* 118-119, n. 34, but the implication of Christianity is still hard to resist, if there are no contrary indications.

For *ύνεινει* = *ύγιαίνειν* cf. F. T. Gignac, *Grammar* i 71.

The content of the prayer is given in a much abused formula of which there are many versions as garbled as this one, cf. e.g. LVI 3860 2-3 n. It would help the grammar to some extent if *ύνα* or *δύτω* could be read in place of *καί*, but this seems impossible.

6 τη. . . . We expect a genitive with the article here, cf. 8, 11, but τής cannot be read, nor has a genitive ending been found to fit the noun. Something like τῆ κοινῆ or καινῆ would suit the remains, but these seem unconvincing in grammar and meaning.

On myriads of myriads see introd. para. 4. The unexpected order of words, accusative before genitive, is paralleled in XLVIII 3396 17 and 3399 5, which also has the disagreement of number, *μυριάδας μυριάδων μίαν*.

8 *αὔξονος* (= *ἄξονος*). The variant spelling has no very obvious phonetic justification, see Gignac, *Grammar* i 229; it may derive from a false etymology from *αὔξανω*. This example seems to be early. Others so far noticed are P. Harr. I 112. 8 (V), XVI 1986 22, 25 (549) = SB XII 11231. 23, 26, I 137 15, 16, 23, 26, 29 (584), XVI 1988 18, 20, 29, 34, 36 (587), 1989 14, 17, 30 (590), 1990 19 (591). In the papyri the word usually refers to a component of the water raising machinery now known as the *sakiyeh*, cf. L. Ménassa, P. Lallerrière, *La Sâria*.

9 *Χρών*. Perhaps *Χρών* is meant, with one loop too few in the series, as so often happens. In either case the unknown name may be a version of *Χωοῖς*, which is fairly common. Read *Χωοῖν*?

11 *πορφύρών*. It is not clear whether this refers to dye (*πορφύρα*?), yarn, cloth, or garments (all from *πορφύρεος*?).

| ψπ. The oblique rising to the baseline also cuts the descender of the rho of *μὲρ|*, but at a steeper angle than the abbreviation mark. It has been taken as the indicator of the unread figure for thousands, which seems to be there, although it is rather small. This method of indicating the thousands came in around the beginning of the fourth century and tended to replace the older indicator, a high hook, which, however, is still used in 'B' for 2,000 in line 9.

14-16 It is not certain where the direct speech after *δτι* ends. It could extend as far as the full stop, but it seems more satisfactory to imagine that Apion withheld money from Maxentius at first, but then paid it over after Maxentius protested.

16 *ἐπιμελείας* (= *-λείας*). Cf. introd. para. 1.

19 *ἀποτέλλο(ν)τας* (= *-οντες*). Cf. F. T. Gignac, *Grammar* ii 347, on phonetic spellings which look like confluents of aorist stems with perfect participle endings; this too, with its present stem and link with *ποιούστας* (= *-τες*), is clearly just a phonetic spelling: nasal omitted, Gignac i 116; *αι* for *ε*, ib. 191-3.

20 *λοιπάδων* (= *-άδα*): also 22, 23. See Gignac, *Grammar* ii 45-6.

20-21 {κα} ... κα. The κ is an angular form written over a small roundel, possibly omicron; κ is a rounded form. Both are used throughout the document. Even if it is the number 21, the meaning is very obscure.

24 *ψαθίσις* = *ψαθίσις*, 'reed baskets'. See most lately P. Nephros (B. Kramer, J. C. Shelton, *Das Archiv des Nephros*) 5, 11 n. For loss of unaccented iota before a back vowel see Gignac, *Grammar* i 304; for theta replaced by tau, here also in *ἀκανθίων* for *ἀκανθίων*, see ibid. 87.

26 *κολλούριων*. Cf. Suidas (Adler) I iii p. 166, 2177 *κολλούριον*: *εἶδος μελιτούτης* (I. *μελιτούτης*?; cf. LSJ s.v. *μελιτόεις*), 'kind of honey cake'. This version of the word is not in LSJ, which cf. s.v. *κολλούριον*, or Suppl. The spelling is very varied and in some contexts this sense cannot be distinguished from that of *κολλύριον*, 'ointment, (eye) salve', cf. Suidas (Adler) I iii p. 146, 1954 *κολλούρια*: *τά κολλούρια ἔχοντα τὰς οὐράς. τοῦτο δὲ καὶ ἐπὶ ἄρτων καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν ἱατρικῶν φαρμάκων λέγεται*. See also E. Battaglia, *Atos* 88-9. Cf. 4001 29 and n.

26-7 *Σερῆνον τοῦ* (*ἐκατοντάρχου*). Cf. XLVIII 3416 11 *Σερῆνον τοῦ* (*δεκαδάρχου*); fresh inspection of the original shows that the abbreviation is χ for *ἐκατοντάρχης*, rather than χ for *δεκαδάρχης*. The loop of the rho can still be distinguished in spite of abrasion. This links 4000 with the archive of Papputhis and Dorotheus, see XLVIII pp. 74-6, but 4000 is not certainly part of that archive, see introd.

H. G. IOANNIDOU

#### 4001. EUDAEMON TO HIS MOTHER, GRANDMOTHERS, AND CYRA

25 3B.58/F(a)

11 × 26.5 cm

Late fourth century

This letter is interesting mainly for its references to medical matters, and it is particularly unfortunate that these most interesting passages are damaged by fading and by the loss of what seems to be a very small rectangle of papyrus near the bottom left. It seems that Eudaemon was away from home, which the address shows to have been a doctor's surgery, presumably in Oxyrhynchus, and wrote back to his mother, grandmothers, and a lady called Cyra, whom we might take to be his sister or his wife.

He asked for the means to make more and different medical instruments, which he seems to have intended to do by himself, and for a heater, *πυρατήρ*, a word known from only one reference in the medical writer Soranus, and for a set of cupping vessels, which would have been for the universal remedy of blood-letting.

A useful collection of references to doctors in the papyri is to be found in CPR XIII pp. 89-100.

The Greek is that of an educated person, with only one intrusive nasal (13) and some few iotacisms, and the hand, which is the same throughout including the address, is well written without haste, although with no pretension to calligraphy. It belongs probably to the second half of the fourth century, and the references to divine providence are pretty certain to be Christian in association.

The writing of the main body of the letter runs along the fibres, but there is no sheet join to show that this is the recto. Two further lines were added downwards in the left margin, and an address was written upwards along the fibres of the back. The letter was rolled up with the right edge inside and squashed flat in the usual way, the exposed left edge was tucked inside for protection, a binding was placed round the middle of the flat package, and the address written in two halves divided by the binding. There is a pale patch in the middle, but no sign of the pattern often associated with such bindings; this may be due to fading or abrasion; all the writing on the back is now very faint.

κυρία[ς] μου μητρὶ καὶ μάμαι  
 ὁμοῦ καὶ Κύρα, Εὐδαίμων χαίρει(ν).  
 ἔσπευσα καὶ νῦν ὑμᾶς προσειπεῖν  
 εὐκαιρίαν εὐρών, εὐχόμενος  
 5 τῇ θεῖα προνοίᾳ ὅπως εὐθυμοῦσαι  
 καὶ ὑγειαίνουσαι ἀπολάβητε τὰ  
 παρ' ἐμοῦ γράμματα. πάντ' γὰρ ἡ-  
 μάς Ἑρακλάμμων ἐλθὼν ἐτά-  
 10 ραξεν, ὅτι φησὶν, 'ἐνόησεν Κύρα  
 ἡ ἀδελφὴ ἡμῶν', ἀλλ' εὐχαρι-  
 τοῦμεν τῇ θεῖα προνοίᾳ τῇ παν-  
 ταχοῦ ἡμῖν καὶ εἰς πάντα βοηθοῦ-  
 15 σῃ, ὅτι καὶ αὐτῆ(ν) ὑγείανεν. γνῶ-  
 τω δὲ ὅτι τὰ λινούδια ἐτμήθη τῆς  
 ἀδελφῆς ἡμῶν Κυρίλλης καὶ ξά(ν)  
 εὐρω γνήσιον ἐρχόμενον ἀ-  
 20 ποστέλλω αὐτὰ καὶ τὸν πορφυροῦ(ν)  
 καράκαλλον καὶ τὰ ὑποδήματα. ἐς-  
 χήκαμεν δὲ τὰ σκεύη παρὰ Ἑλένης  
 τῆς πλουμαρίας καὶ μόνα δ' βιβλία  
 εὐρον ἐν τῇ δικακκίᾳ, ὑμεῖς δὲ ἐγρά-  
 ψατε ὅτι, 'εἴ ἀπεστείλαμεν'. ἔσχαμε(ν)  
 δὲ καὶ τὰ ἄλλα πάντα χωρὶς μόνης  
 τῆς ὑδρείας τοῦ ὀξυγγείου. ὄθεν

25 σπουδατάω ὁ ἀδελφὸς ἡμῶν  
 Θεόδωρος ζητήσαι ἦγο. . . . . τρυ  
 να. . . . . καὶ γνῶναι περ[ὶ] αὐτοῦ  
 . . . . . ὑδρείαν, παρέσχεν ἀν-  
 30 τὶ τοῦ ὀξυγγείου κολλουρίων ὑδρεῖ-  
 [. . .]αν. σπούδασον δὲ τὸ χα[λ]κοῦν δελτά-  
 ριόν μοι ἀποστείλαι, ἵνα ἄλλα ἄρμενα προ-  
 ἦςω, μὴ τὰ αὐτά, καὶ τὸν πυριατήρα  
 ὁμοίως καὶ τὰς σικύας, ἵνα ποιήσω . . . -  
 τᾶδιον.

Downwards across the fibres in the left margin:

35 ἀπόστειλον δὲ καὶ κολλουρίων λίτρας τρεῖς μεμιγμένων ἀπὸ  
 πάντων . . . . . [ . . . . . ] . . . . .  
 στατικά καὶ . . . . . οἶ . [ . ] . . . . [ . . ] . ἀλλὰ . . . . . λάβω  
 ἕτερα κατὰ α . . . . . α . . . . . [

Back, upwards along the fibres:

ἀπόδος εἰς τὸ ἰατρείον (vac.) [πα]ρὰ Εὐδαίμονος.

1 I. μάμαι 2 χαιρεῖ 3 ὑμας 5 I. εὐκαιρίαν 6 ὕγ-; I. ὑγαιίνουσαι 10 ἀλλ'  
 13 ὕγ-; I. ὑγίανεν 18 εἴ? 17 πορφυροῦ? 21 ὑμεῖς 22 ἐσχαμεῖ 24 ὑδρείας; I.  
 ὑδρίας, ὀξυγγείου 28, 29 ὑδρεῖ-; I. ὑδρεῖ-, I. ὀξυγγείου 31 ἴνα 35 I. τρεῖς

'To the ladies my mother and grandmothers together with Cyra, Eudaemon, greetings. Having found a good opportunity I made haste to greet you right now, praying to divine providence that you may receive my letter in good health and spirits. For Heraclammon came and worried us greatly, because he says, 'Our sister Cyra fell ill', but we thank divine providence, which helps us everywhere and in everything, that she too has recovered. Let her know that the linen garments of our sister Cyrilla were cut from the loom, and if I find a friend going I will send them and the purple cape with a hood and the shoes. We have received the goods from Helen the embroidress and I found only four books in the saddlebag, while you wrote, 'We sent five'. We had all the other things too except only the jar of grease. So let our brother Theodorus make sure to look . . . and to know about it . . . jar, he provided instead of the grease a jar of ointments. Make sure to send me the bronze sheet(?), so that I may make other instruments, not the same ones, and the heater likewise and the cupping vessels, so that I may make (a set of five?).'

Downwards in the left margin:

'Send also three pounds of ointments mixed from all . . . astringent ones and . . . I (may?) receive other nice ones . . .'

Address:

'Deliver to the surgery, from Eudaemon.'

1 *μάμας* (= *μάμμας*). For simplification of double mu see F. T. Gignac, *Grammar* i 157; for the phenomenon in this word see P. Mich. VIII 465, 39, 466. 44 (same person; AD 107), P. Diog. (= P. Schubert, *Les archives de Marcus Aurelius Diogenes*) 17. 10, cf. 2 (*μαμμάων*; second/third cent.), P. Grenf. I 61. 3, 7 (sixth cent.).

2 *Εὐδαίμων*. The letter of a fourth century doctor called Eudaemon survives in a damaged state as P. Fouad 80. Its provenance is unknown, and although a reference to the temple of Triphos connects it with the area of Panopolis, it could have been found at Oxyrhynchus. Even though a photograph shows that it is in a different hand from ours, it could have come from the same doctor, using a different *amanensis*. However, the name Eudaemon is common and there is nothing in the texts themselves to give any strong support to a theory that they come from the same person.

5 *θεία προνάα*, cf. 11. Cf. 4000 3-4 n. for the presumption of Christianity that this offers.

13 *αὐτή(ν)*. Cf. 3991 18 n.

14 *λυούδια*. On the rare suffix *-ούδιον*, which later produced many Modern Greek words in *-ουδι*, see L. R. Palmer, *Grammar of the Post-Ptolemaic Papyri* 14, cf. 82, 89.

ἐτήθη. This means that these linen garments had been shaped on the loom and cut off it because they were ready, cf. LI 3626 16-17 n, LVI 3855 4 n. Compare too Dionysius, *Basariaca* (ed. E. Livrea) 83 (fr. 2):

ἐθα τε πέπλα γυναίκες Ἀθηναίης ἰότηρι  
αὐτήμαρ κροκόων ἐφ' ἰστοπόδων τανύουσαι,  
αὐτήμαρ δ' ἔταμον τε <καὶ ἐξ ἰστών> ἐρύσαντο.

16 *γνήσιον*. Cf. G. W. H. Lampe, *Patristic Greek Lexicon* s.v. *γνήσιος* (4) for its use as a noun meaning 'friend' in Athanasius and John Chrysostom. No other example in the papyrus has been identified on this occasion.

17-18 *τὸν πορφύρο(ν) καράκαλλον*. On the identification and pictorial representation of the hooded cape known as the *caracalla* see J. P. Wild, *Britannia* 17 (1986) 352-3. Hitherto the papyrus have given only the diminutive form *καράκαλλιον*, in various spellings, cf. LVI 3871 2 n. The list in S. Daris, *Lessico latino* 50, s.v., is updated in P. Heid. IV 333. 4 n.: add 3871 2, CPR X 139. 2, 4, 5, SB XVI 12249. 11. LSJ gives the basic form of the word as neuter, *καράκαλλον*, but AP XI 345. 3 *μηκεδανὸν καράκαλλον* ... *κοιμίζεις*, and the genitives in Diocletian, *Edict. rer. venal.* 7. 44 κ. ἀδρού, 7. 45 κ. μ(ε)ικροτέρου, 26. 120, 135 *καράκαλλων* are ambiguous. J. P. Wild, *Latomus* 23 (1964) 532-6, made a study of the forms in both languages and suggested that the original Latin form ought to be *caracallus*, but he withdrew the suggestion in *Britannia* 17 (1986) 353, because two lead curse tablets from Bath, one of them possibly of a date before the emperor Caracalla, have the feminine form; in fact the assigned dates are not necessarily secure, see R. S. O. Tomlin in B. Cunliffe (ed.), *The Temple of Sulis Minerva at Bath* ii 123 (No. 10. 6 n., cf. 16, and No. 65. 4). Nevertheless there seems to be no reliable attestation of a masculine form in Latin or any of a feminine form in Greek, which has both a masculine, *καράκαλλος*, and a neuter *καράκαλλιον*.

20 *πλουμαρίας*. The masculine *πλουμαρίος*, transliterated from the Latin *plumarius*, was the only gender of the adjectival form of the trade name attested up to now, see S. Daris, *Lessico latino* 92, cf. G. Dagron, D. Feissel, *Inscriptions de Cilicie* 83 (no. 38 comm.) for some epigraphic literature. The feminine *πλουμαρίσσα* is found in P. Aberd. 59 i 7 (Fourth/fifth cent.).

βιβλία. The word *βιβλίον* means first of all papyrus, so that it is impossible to separate the meanings of 'books' and 'papers' without some external indication. Here perhaps the numbers do suffice to make it more probable than not that these were books rather than documents. For the overlapping terms *χάρτης* and *βιβλος*, with their diminutives, see N. Lewis, *Papyrus in Classical Antiquity* 70-79.

Another consideration might be that 'medical knowledge was especially likely to be transmitted through reading', W. V. Harris, *Ancient Literacy* 275, cf. 82, and Professor Parsons draws our attention to P. Ross-Georg. III 1. 17-18 *γράφω ἐκπιναίξαι μου τὰ ἱατρικὰ βιβλία* (3rd cent.) By the date of this letter a medical book might well be more likely to be in codex than in roll form, especially because codices were easier to consult (Harris, 296-7). On the early appearance of medical codices see C. H. Roberts, *Proceedings of the British Academy* 40 (1954) 195-6, citing the story of the bishop who answered an accusation of surrendering Christian books during Diocletian's persecution with the words, '*dedi codices medicinales*', cf. 184-5 n. 2, (b) and (c). It is very probable that *βιβλίον* can have that meaning, see G. W. H. Lampe, *A Patristic Greek Lexicon* s.v. *βιβλος*, but no clear example of it has been found on this occasion.

21 *δικακία*. For the doublet *δικάκκιον/δικακία* and others of the same kind see G. Husson, *Atti del XVII Congresso Internazionale di Papirologia* iii 1297-1301.

24 *ύδρεας* (l. *ύδρας*), cf. 28, 29-30. It is not certain whether this word implies any definite form or size of vessel, see C. Daremberg, E. Saglio, *Dictionnaire des antiquités* iii 319, s.v. *Hydris*.

ύγγελέον (l. *-ίον*), cf. 29. This substance is rare in the papyrus, only in P. Lond. IV 14.14. 291, 1415. 11 (here *ύδαγγ-*), and P. Köln VII 318. 6. The origin is Latin *axungia*, 'axle grease', but *ύ-* is the normal spelling in Greek. It refers to solid animal fat, and appears in one Latin account among foodstuffs issued to Roman soldiers, presumably to be used in cooking, see A. K. Bowman, J. D. Thomas, *Vindolanda: The Latin Writing Tablets* 4. 35, cf. n. That it really was, in some contexts, axle grease is shown by a passage of Aetius Amidenus, *Iatric.* vi 55. 83 where one of the ingredients of a remedy was *δ. από τροχών τὸν άμαξίων*. It was commonly pork fat, see e.g. Alex. Trall., *Therap.* ii 109. 2 (*δ. χοιρείου*), 185. 23 (*δ. χ. παλαιού*), but goose fat is also mentioned op. cit. ii 303. 14 (*δ. νεαρού χηρείου καθαρού*), and presumably any solid fat could be called by the same name. In this context it was obviously for medicinal use, cf. P. Köln VII 318. 6 n.

28, 29-30 *ύδρείων*. Cf. 24 n.

29 *ύγγυείου*. See 24 n.

*κολλυρίων*, cf. 35. In this context the reference is evidently to medicinal ointments, possibly eye salves, for which the dictionary spelling is *κολλύριον*; cf. 4000 26 n. on *κολλυρίων*, where the quantity specified, two artabas, indicates that a very similar word referring to a type of bread is meant. The spelling of both words is confused and uncertain, and without a clue from the context the meaning may in some cases be uncertain.

The instruction in line 35, 'Send three pounds of *collyria*, mixed from all ...', suggests that the reference is to ointments prepared in a solid stick form according to various recipes, from which a doctor could select one appropriate to the needs of his patient; see for a brief popular account Ralph Jackson, *Doctors and Diseases in the Roman Empire* 83-5.

30-31 *τὸ χα[λ]κοῦν δελγάριον*. LSJ s.v. *δελγάριον* II refers to H. Schoene, *Hermes* 38 (1903) 280-4, a publication of two lists of surgical instruments. The Latin list, written probably in the ninth century AD, has *deltarium*; the shorter Greek list, of probably the eleventh century, does not have it, although it is obviously a Greek term, nor has it been traced in the Greek medical writers. Here it seems unlikely to be a writing tablet, the most common meaning of *δελγάριον*, but on the other hand it is hard to imagine what surgical instrument or apparatus would be required by a person wanting to make other surgical instruments. The guess used for the translation is that it means 'the sheet of bronze', that is, the raw material to be shaped into the new instruments.

31 *έρμενα*. Cf. LSJ s.v. 3 b., citing Bacch. ap. Erot. fr. 37 (also 61, with virtually the same words) *έρμενα γὰρ ἰδίως λέγεται τὰ πρὸς τὴν ἱατρικὴν χρεῖαν ἐπιτήδεια ἔργαλεια, οἷον μείλα, φλεβοτόμα καὶ τάλλα τὰ τοῦτοις ὅμοια*.

32 *πυριατήρα*. This occurs once only, Soranus, *Gynaec.* 3. 10. 3, in a list of means to apply local heat to the body: *πυριατήρας θερμοῦ ὕδατος πεπληρωμένους*.

33 *κυκίας*, 'cupping vessels'. On their use, mostly for blood-letting, see the brief clear account of J. S. Milne, *Surgical Instruments in Greek and Roman Times* 101-5, Pl. IV, XXXIII-XXXVII. Note that the small versions illustrated in XXXVI 1, 3 are now considered modern, see E. Künzl, *Germania* 60 (1982) ii 513-32; this article gives a good modern bibliography and an account of the ancient examples. The plural is explained by the fact that doctors needed a set in different sizes to suit any part of the body chosen for this treatment, which was so prevalent that the cupping vessel became a symbol of the profession, illustrated especially on the tombstones of doctors. It is mentioned in three fragmentary medical texts surviving on papyrus, see M.-H. Marganne, *Insventaire analytique des papyrus grecs de médecine* pp. 61, 89, 221. Two examples may be illustrated in a temple relief of the Roman period at Kom Ombo, see e.g. A. Stettler, *Antike Welt* 13. 3 (1982) 48-53, esp. 50, Abb. 4. 1, cf. M.-H. Marganne-Mélaud in *Archéologie et Médecine. VIIèmes Rencontres Internationales d'Archéologie et d'Histoire d'Antibes* 404-5. An earthenware example is now in the collection of the Ägyptisches Museum in Berlin, see C.-B. Arnst, *Forschungen und Berichte* 28 (1990) 31, with abb. 14, but, although it is assigned to the Graeco-Roman period, nothing is known of its provenance or acquisition. Dr Jaromir Málek, of the Griffith Institute, Oxford, kindly gave us his help with matters relating to Egyptology and in particular supplied the references to the illustrated articles of Stettler and Arnst.

33-4 The unread word appears to end in *-άδιον*, a diminutive suffix which was not very productive in the Greek of the period, see L. R. Palmer, *Grammar of the Post-Ptolemaic Papyri* 88-9; for the known

possibilities see P. Kretschmer, P. Locker, *Rückläufiges Wörterbuch der griechischen Sprache* 147-8. A possible reading might be *περτάδιον*; the putative nu has suffered the most damage and is completely uncertain, but the other four letters are at least well suited to the remains. In BGU III 812, 6 and P. Mil. II 77 (=SB VI 9509). 2 *πεντάδιον* appears to mean a 'set of five'.

35 *κολλουρίων*. Cf. 29 n.

36 *στατικά*, 'astringent ones'. It seems probable that this, and not a prepositional compound, is the full word, and that the topic under discussion is still *collyria*, cf. Aetius Amidenus, *Iatrica*. 104 *περὶ τῶν στατικῶν κολλυρίων καὶ ἐρικριῶν. καὶ τὰ στατικά καλούμενα κολλύρια ἀποκρουστικά τυγχάνει. ἔστηκε γὰρ τὴν ἀτακτὸν ὄρημν τοῦ βέματος.*

H. G. IOANNIDOU

#### 4002. DIOGENES TO EUMATHIUS

65 6B.32/M(6)a

21 × 26 cm

Fourth/fifth century

The sender of this letter was a *scholasticus*, that is, a man with legal training, see 23 n. As the bearer of his letters he made use of an armed guard (*κύμμαχος*) attached to an official, probably a civil servant, with the military title of *speculator*, see 5-6 n. In such a context it is not surprising that the language is pretty correct and the writing competent. The main part of the letter, lines 1-15, is in a tall, upright, very fluent, official looking cursive. A second hand in much the same style, but smaller, lighter, and less careful, begins in line 15 and carries through to the end, including the farewell formula. Probably this is the hand of the sender himself and some of the corrections in the earlier section, particularly of iotacisms, look as if they are in this lighter hand, so that we may guess that a clerk wrote most of the letter and that the sender corrected it and added a postscript and farewell. It looks as if he also intervened in the address on the back, see 22-3 n.

The position of this address shows that the letter was packaged to be sent in the usual way, cf. 3989 introd. para. 3. A sheet join running vertically about 2 cm from the right edge of the front shows that the letter was written along the fibres of the recto of the roll from which the piece was cut.

The recipient is addressed as 'my master' (1, 22), but what he receives is a continuous stream of orders and complaints about his failure to send letters and to reply properly to enquiries, so that he was almost certainly not in any way the sender's superior. The business is entirely private and consists of requests for goods and for information about people. The reference in 18 to *φόροι*, whether they are rents or taxes, comes in the context of the management of irrigated land and appears to represent a landowner's point of view.

τῷ δεσπότη μου (vac.) Εὐμαθίῳ  
(vac.) Διογένει.

πολλὰς ἀποστέλλον ἐπιστολάς διὰ πολλοῦ μόλις τὰ παρὰ ε[ο]ῦ  
πεμπόμενα γ[ράμμ]ατα κομίζομαι, ἃ σπανίως ἀποστέλλ' εἰς.  
5 ἀπέστ' εἴλα καὶ νῦν καὶ διὰ κυμμάχου διαφέροντος Μέλανι τῷ  
σπεκουλάτορι ἄλλας τρεῖς ἐπιστολάς. ἔν' οὖν ταύτας ὑποδέξῃ,  
γράψω. τὰς ὑδρεία[ς] καὶ κύθρας καὶ βανκάλεις μοι ἀπόστιλον  
διὰ τοῦ φέροντος τὰ ἐπιμηνίδια πλοίου. περὶ Φιλαδέλφου  
οὐδέν μοι ἔγραψας. πῶς διάγ' εἶ; ποίησον Καλιῶν τὸν  
10 ἀπὸ Τόκα θρόναί σοι τὸ φελόνιον Ἀθανασίου τοῦ βοθητοῦ, ἵνα  
ἀποστῆς ἡμεῖν ἐνταῦθα. καὶ κεράμιον τυρῶν  
ἀποσταλήτω ἡμεῖν. ἐλ[ξ] αἴ' ἀπόστιλον καὶ φακὴν  
λελεπισμένην ὀλίγην καὶ κίτρινον ὀλίγον λελεπισμένον,  
20 τοσοῦτον ὅσον καὶ πέρυκι ἀπεστάλη. τὰς κεράας τοῦ  
15 κραβάκτου μοι ἀπόστιλον. (m. 2?) πολλάκις μοι ἔγραψα ἵνα μοι δηλώσῃς  
περὶ Θεοδώρου, εἰ ἐπαύσατο ἀλγῶν τὸν ὀδόντα. εἰ ἐλάβετ[η] εἴ' τὸν χόρτον  
τῆς Ἀδέου τὸν Κορνηλίου, δῆλωλόν μοι, καὶ περὶ τοῦ λάκκου καὶ περὶ  
θερινῶν ἔργων ἐν ταῖς μηχαναῖς καὶ εἰ οἱ φόροι συνεπληρώθησαν.  
πῶς διάγει ἡ Διονυσία? (vac.) ἐρρώσθαι σε πολλοῖς  
20 χρόνοις εὖχομαι,  
κύριέ μου.

Back, downwards along the fibres:

(m. 1?) τῷ δεσπότη μου (vac.) (m. 2?) ἔν' Ὀξυρύγχω' (design) (m. 1?) Εὐμαθίῳ  
Διογένεισ χολ(ακτικός)

6 ἴνον 7 γραφῶν?, ὑδρεία[ς]; 1. ὑδρίας, κύθρας, ἀπόστειλον 10 θρόναί: θρ corr.; 1. φανόλιον;  
ἵνα 11 1. ἀποστῆς ἡμῖν 12 1. ἡμῖν, ἀπόστειλον 14 1. κεράιας? 15 1. ἀπόστειλον  
17 1. Ἀδαίου, δῆλωσον

'To my master Eumathius, Diogenes. Although I have been sending you many letters over a long time, I hardly receive any letters dispatched by you, since you rarely send any. I sent just now also, by the armed guard who is attached to Melas the *speculator*, another three letters. So I write to you to take delivery of them. Send me the jars and the pots and the jugs by the boat which brings the monthly supplies. About Philadelphus you wrote me nothing. How is he getting on? Make Salius, the man from Toca, give you the cape belonging to Athanasius the assistant, so that you can send it to us here. And have a pot of cheeses sent to us. Send olives and a little husked lentil and a little husked wheat, the same amount that was sent last year. Send me the bed beams(?). (2nd hand?) I wrote often to you to let me know about Theodorus, whether his tooth has stopped aching. If you got the hay from Adaeu, belonging to Cornelius, let me know;

also about the cistern and about summer works in the irrigated fields and if the taxes (or money rents?) have been covered in full. How is Dionysia getting along?

‘I pray for your health for many years, my lord.’

Address:

(1st hand?) ‘To my master Eumathius, (2nd hand?) in Oxyrhynchus, (1st hand?) Diogenes *scholasticus*’.

4 ἀποτέλλ’εἰς. Most of the corrections, and all those relating to iotacisms, appear to be in the thinner pen which wrote lines 15–21. The insertion of τὰ in 3 looks like the first hand, that of zeta in 4 is too damaged to allow a judgement. See introd. for the suggestion that the sender corrected the letter as written by a clerk and added postscript, farewell formula, and the location in the address. Note that several iotacisms and phonetic spellings have been left uncorrected, e.g. ὕδρεια[ε], ἀπόστειλον (7), φελόνιον (10), ἀποστειλῆς ἡμεῖν (11), κερίας (14).

5–6 διὰ συμμάχου διαφέροντος Μέλανι τῶν σπεκουλάτορι. On σύμμαχοι see LVIII 3932 11 n., citing A. Jördens, *ZPE* 66 (1986) 105–118. In that sixth century letter the armed messenger was attached to an *excipitor* who appears to have been a member of the staff of the *praeses Arcadiae*. Here it seems very likely that the *speculator* was also a member of one of the provincial *officia*, a member of the *militia officialis* rather than a proper soldier, see especially A. H. M. Jones, *The Later Roman Empire* i 566, ‘Civil servants in many offices held military non-commissioned grades, survivals from the principate, long obsolete in the army of the day, rising to be *speculator*, *conticularius* and *centurio princeps*, and finally on retirement *primipilus*’. Cf. BGU XIII 2332. 6–7 στ. τάξεως ἡγεμονίας Ἀγουσταμικῆς (I. ἡγεμον-, Ἀβγ-), SB XIV 11551. 3–4 στ. τάξεως [ἡγεμονίας τῆς Θηβαῖ]δος.

Diogenes the sender could also have been attached to a provincial *officium* as a *scholasticus*, see 23 n.

The Rev. J. Chapa has kindly drawn our attention to P. Neph. 20 with its updated list of papyrus references to the *speculator* pp. 96–9, and to the study by C. Spicq, *Notes de lexicographie néo-testamentaire* ii 735–7.

7 ὕδρεια[ε] (I. ὕδρ-). Cf. 4001 24 n.

κύβρα (I. χύτρας). On the spelling, which is the predominant one in the papyri, see F. T. Gignac, *Grammar* i 94. The χύτρα was a round cooking pot made on the wheel, see Stephanus, *Thesaurus* s.v., and it had, or might have, handles or lugs, see LSJ s.v.

βαυκάλεις. On words for containers beginning βαυκαλ- see H. G. Youtie, *Scriptumulae* i 520–21. They denote a sort of pot with a narrow neck. The name is supposed to be Alexandrian (Athen. *Deipnosoph.* 11. 784b, βαυκαλικε) and onomatopoeic, deriving from the sound a liquid made when poured in or out: Alex. Arphod., *Problema* 1. 94 διὰ τὰ λεγόμενα καυκάλια (I. βαυκάλια) ἐν τῷ πληροῦσθαι ὕδατος φόφον τινὰ ἀποτελεῖ, ὅθεν καὶ ἡ φύσις, καὶ τὸ ποῖον τοῦ φόφου εἰς ὄνομα αὐτῶν μετήνεγκεν, ὡς καὶ τὸ φλοῖερος καὶ βορβορυγμός καὶ τὰ λοιπά; ὅτι τὸ ἀργεῖον ἐν τῷ μὴ ἔχειν ὕδωρ ἀέρος πεπληρωτά, σώματος λεπτοτέρου τυγχάνοντος. ἐν οὖν τῷ καβεῖσθαι ἀδρῶς εἰς αὐτὸ τὸ ὕδωρ τῆ βαρῖτητι διώκει τὸν ἀέρα ἔξω ὡς λεπτομερῆ. ... τὸ μὲν γὰρ ὕδωρ ἐπὶ τὸ κάτω βιάζεται τὸν ἀέρα, ὁ δὲ ἀὴρ ἐπὶ τὸ ἄνω τὸ ὕδωρ. καὶ τούτων κατὰ διαδοχὴν γινόμενον συμβαίνει καὶ τὸν φόφον πυκνῶς γίνεσθαι. Several pots of different sizes with narrow necks and fat bodies are illustrated in P. Fay. Pl. XIII.

It is perhaps worth suggesting that the reason the word βαυκάλιον appears throughout XVIII 2197 as a unit equivalent to 3,000 bricks, cf. XVI 2055 42 (BL III p. 140), P. Mert. I 44. 2, could possibly be that the bricks were baked, three thousand at a time, in a kiln shaped like the pot of this name, which might have been rather similar to the now obsolete bottle kilns of which a few nineteenth century examples still survive in England. The brick is specified as baked brick, ἀποστειλωθός, in both 2055 and 2197; if the suggestion is correct, the πλῆθος of P. Mert. I 44 has to be understood as baked brick, rather than the commoner mud brick, simply dried in the sun.

The Alexandrian church called Baucalis, cf. Youtie, *op. cit.* 521 n. 14, may perhaps have been a circular, tholus-shaped building.

8 διὰ τοῦ ... πλοίου. The sender was evidently not in Oxyrhynchus, cf. 22, but in some place which could be reached by boat from there.

ἐπιμηνῖδια. Cf. L. R. Palmer, *Grammar of the Post Ptolemaic Papyri* 81–2.

9 Καλιούν. For the declension cf. F. T. Gignac, *Grammar* ii 60 (vii).

10 Τόκα. Cf. P. Pruneti, *I centri abitati* 205–6; add II 299 3 (see *ZPE* 66 (1986) 91 n. 3), LV 3783 7, PSI Congr. XVII 26. 4, 5, 13, SB XVI 12324. 3, 12579. 5 (Τοκαίετρας), C. Pap. Gr. II. i 29. 6.

φελόνιον. Cf. Gignac, *Grammar* i 154 for various spellings; this is a Greek version of the Latin *paenula*, but it occurs repeatedly in the papyri with the internal consonants in reverse order, and this has been so persistent that Modern Greek has φελόνιον, ‘chasuble’. On the late Byzantine church vestment see N. K. Moran, *Singers in Late Byzantine and Slavonic Painting* 32–4. On the ancient garment, one of several styles of hooded cape, see L. M. Wilson, *The Clothing of the Ancient Romans* 87–92, J. P. Wild, *Britannia* 17 (1986) 353 n. 117.

Ἀθανάσιον τοῦ βοηθοῦ. An Athanasius βοηθός of unknown origin in a document of 354, P. Strass. V 329. 1, may be too early; possibly relevant is another who was the recipient of an order to pay of AD 390, XIV 1753. The order was issued by a man called Limenius, a name which appears in other papyri of about the same date, see LI 3639 4 n. (correct 1752 there to 1753), but there is no stronger indication that all the men of this name are identical, nor is there any strong indication that our Athanasius and the one in 1753 are the same. That one was presumably assistant to Limenius in a private capacity. The title of ‘assistant’ is extremely common over a long period, and is found also in connection with public officials such as the strategus and logistis as well as with compulsory public servants such as the δεκάπρωτοι and other tax collectors. Note also the βοηθ(ῶ) χολ(ακτικοῦ) in CPR XIV 39. 6. It is possible that Athanasius was the assistant of Diogenes himself in this case.

12–13 φακῖν λεπτειμένον. On lentils in general cf. LI 3628 13 n. Unhusked lentils were sometimes referred to as ἀλόφακος, see XVIII 2190 61, P. Bouriant 13. 5, P. Ryl. IV 627. 79, possibly also PSI VI 683. 33 (BL VII 236), and certainly P. Oslo III 191. 2.

14–15 τὰς κερίας (I. κεραίας?) ... τοῦ κραβάκτου. Most commonly found as a nautical term for a yard or spar which carries a sail, κεραία can mean a beam and probably any long piece of wood with a substantial but comparatively narrow section. In connection with a bed these would seem most likely to be the longest timbers which run from each side of the head to the foot, but it is not obvious why they should come separately from the legs and the necessary cross-pieces. Since this interpretation seems difficult, perhaps it is possible that there is some confusion with κερία, the latticework of a bed, made of reed or grass rope criss-crossed in the manner of leather straps, cf. G. Darenberg, E. Saglio, *Dictionnaire des antiquités* iii 2, p. 1015 col. ii (s.v. lectus), LXX *Proverbs* 7. 16, and for a well illustrated account of beds of the Pharaonic period Hollis S. Baker, *Furniture in the Ancient World* 102–6, 123, 142–5. For papyri see especially P. Freib. IV 53. 34–5, ἀγόραρον διὰ Μάρωνος κ(ε)ριίας κλωνῶν δύο (I BC). The word may have the same sense in P. Cair. Zen. I 59069. 9, 11, IV 59609. 2, PSI IV 341. 7, 387. 4, VI 616. 33, VII 854. 10 (all III BC), and SB XIV 12103. 14 (κερίων; from *ZPE* 24 (1977) 82–8; I/II AD., where perhaps some connection with beeswax is not excluded). In P. Hels. I 7. 7, 8, 10 κ(ε)ριάν among woven goods probably means ‘bandage’, cf. NT *Ev. Jo.* 11. 44 (of the grave-wrappings of Lazarus). However, κεραία and κερία are not homophones, so that the confusion must be more than phonetic, if this conjecture is to be right.

15 κραβάκτου. For the spelling of this word with kappa tau, which is usual in the papyri, see F. T. Gignac, *Grammar* i 66.

μοι. The position of this word seems odd, but iota is very clear. Cf. 4003 35 and n.

See introd. for the change of writing in this line.

17 τῆς Ἀθέου (I. Ἀδαίου) sc. κόμης. Cf. P. Pruneti, *I centri abitati* 23–4; add P. Hels. 23. 12, LV 3805 118. δηλαῶν (I. δηλαίων). The repetition of the lambda in place of sigma is clearly accidental, see δηλαῶσε correctly in 15. For a similar accident cf. LVI 3859 52–3 πολλοὶ χρόνοι (I. χρόνοι).

17–18 These enquiries about a cistern, summer work in irrigated fields, and the full payment of rents in money (or taxes), look as if they are made on Diogenes’ own behalf and that he was the owner of the land in question. For μηχαναῖα in the sense of ‘(fields irrigated by) machines’ cf. LV 3803 introd. The φόροι are ambiguous; φόρος often means money rent, as opposed to ἐκφόριον, rent in kind, but it can also mean tax due to the state.

22–3 We expect the address to be by the hand of the clerk who wrote the main part of the letter. The style is less formal, but there is no special reason to doubt that this is the case for the main elements. However, ἐν Ὁξυρύνχῳ has been added in the lighter hand and at a slightly higher level in the space between the first half of the address and the design which marks the place where the binding was tied round the letter.

22 Ὀξυρύνχου. This form of the name of Oxyrhynchus is very rare, see LVI 3860 9–10 n., adding P. Wash. Univ. II 108. 3, 8, but here there seems no doubt of the reading or interpretation, cf. 4006 12, so that in 3860 9 and 10 Ὀξύρυνχον (= -ρύνχον rather than -ρύνχων sc. πόλις) should be thought less unlikely now.

23 Διογενής σχολ(αστικός). No *scholasticus* of this name is known either from the list in Axel Claus, 'Ο σχολαστικός (Diss. Köln 1965) 20–43 or from the supplements by P. J. Sijpesteijn, *ZPE* 70 (1987) 144–6, and T. Gagos, *ZPE* 79 (1989) 272; add Gerontius from CPR XIV 39. 3. The term denotes a man with legal training. Some *scholastici* were attached to high officials, see Claus 132–9, so that it is possible that Diogenes was a colleague of Melas the *speculator*, see 5–6 n., in some provincial *officium*, cf. P. Berl. Zill. 5. 5–6 σχ[ι]ολαστικῶν τάξεως ἡγεμό[ν]ι[α]ς Θ[ηβαῖος], and especially the *scholastici* in the list of praesidial officials in CPR XIV 39. 2, 3, 6, with 2 n., although it must be pointed out that this list does not contain any *speculatores*. Of course the indication is tenuous; *scholastici* acted as courtroom lawyers, judges, municipal and imperial officials.

H. G. IOANNIDOU

#### 4003. DIDYMUS TO ATHANASIOS

64 6B.56/G(4–5)a

11 × 28.5 cm

Fourth/fifth century

The grammar of this letter is shaky and the spelling vulgar, which comes as a surprising contrast with the subjects discussed. The sender appears to be taking the initiative in the building of a church and to be giving authority for money to be spent on it; he issues instructions about estate matters in a manner which suggests he was either the owner or a very senior manager; he requests copies of proceedings in the court of an Augustal prefect. In the first half of his letter Didymus urges Athanasios to put his best efforts into a project of building a church. The financial resources for this part of the work, which was mostly concerned with stones and pillars probably to be made out of the stones, consisted of the price of a donkey, unstated, and three gold *solidi*. We do not learn where the church was to be; perhaps a village is more likely than the metropolis. The stones were to be transported on a fishing-boat from the Oxyrhynchite village of Tampemu in the eastern toparchy, probably the place now marked on the maps as Tambu.

In the second half of his letter, which is on the back of the sheet, he gives instructions which are chiefly about the management of an estate, round which he wants Athanasios to make a tour of inspection and to see to the repair or equipment of irrigation machines. The stewards (*προνοητάς*, 41), whom Athanasios was to keep at work, were presumably local managers on this estate and their plurality implies that the estate was not small. Didymus also asks for records of proceedings held before an Augustal prefect, probably the prefect of Egypt, to be sent to him because he needs them, or will need them, in Pelusium. Pelusium and Oxyrhynchus both belonged to the province of Augustamnica from its creation in AD 341, see L 3576 introd., until the smaller province of Arcadia was created with Oxyrhynchus as its metropolis.

The handwriting is large and, like the grammar and spelling, rather clumsy, although probably not unpractised. Such hands are among the most difficult to date,

but it looks as if it belongs to the late fourth or to the fifth century. The title of *praefectus Augustalis* is said to have been first bestowed on Flavius Eutolmius Tatianus as prefect of Egypt in AD 367, see A. H. M. Jones etc., *The Prosopography of the Later Roman Empire* i 876, which gives a conservative *terminus post quem* for this document. The fact that this person involved in agriculture in the Oxyrhynchite area was travelling to Pelusium, quite probably to transact business in the court of the *praeses* of Augustamnica, suggests that it dates from before the creation of Arcadia, which is first mentioned in a document in Stud. Pap. XX 117 of AD 411, cf. LI p. 75, three years after the death of the emperor Arcadius, from whom the province evidently derived its name. The date of its foundation is not known, so there remains a possibility that it dates back even into the reign of Theodosius I.

A sheet-join running vertically very close to the right edge shows that the letter begins along the fibres of the recto of the original roll from which the piece was cut. Lines 1–30 are written in this way, parallel with the short sides of the piece, with 29–30 containing a farewell formula, but line 31, which is written downwards in the left margin, continues the text from the end of 28. Then the sheet was turned over and the letter was continued on the back, written upwards with respect to the first side, along the fibres of the verso of the original roll and parallel with the long sides of the piece. There is no address or sign of tying, but repeating patterns of damage indicate that the letter was rolled up from the right edge as was normal and then squashed flat. The absence of address probably means simply that it was delivered by a messenger who knew the destination well, although it might have been put into a parcel of goods.

κυρίῳ μου ἀ[δ]ελφῷ Ἀθανασίῳ,  
Δίδυμος.

τὸν ἐπωράνιον σου  
θεόν, οὕτως νυν-  
5 φεύσεις τὰ ἀρκενικά σου  
τέκτα, πρὸ πάντων  
χρεώστην με ἔχω(ν)  
τῆς μεγάλης ταύ-  
της χάριτος, ἐπέιθεσ  
10 σεαυτὸν εἰς τὴν ἐκκλη-  
σίαν. καὶ τὴν τιμὴν  
τοῦ ὄνου καὶ τᾶλλα  
τρία ὀλοκότ[ι]να,  
ἐξ αὐτῶν ἀνάλομσο(ν)



15 καὶ τελίωσον τὴν ἐκ-  
λησίαν. ἦδη γὰρ εὖρε(ν)  
τοὺς λίθους Ἰσαϊαίας  
ὁ λαοξόδος. ευνεφώνη-  
20 σεν οὖν πρὸς τὸν ἄν-  
θρωπον. καὶ ἀγόρασο(ν)  
δύο χρυσίνους  
καὶ ἀρκώντε. τελίωσο(ν)  
τοὺς κίονας. ἀπὸ Τα(μ)-  
πεμοῦ ποιήσον τὸ  
25 ἀλιωτικὸν πρὸ τῆς  
ἀποβάσεως ἐνευ-  
κεῖν. παρακαλῶ μὴ  
παρήδεις μου ταύτη(ν)  
(vac.) ξ[ρρ]ῶσθαί ε[ε] εὔχομαι  
30 (vac.) [π]ολλοῖς χρ[ό]ροι[ε].

Downwards in the left hand margin:

τὴν ἀξίωσειν. καὶ γὰρ ὑπὲρ τῆς ἐμῆς ψυχῆς καὶ τῆς σοῦ ποιεῖς.

Back, upwards along the fibres:

κατασκευή(ν) τῶν μηχανῶν τῆς οὐσίας ἐτύμασον.  
περίερθε τὴν οὐσίαν. ἀπέστηλά σοι καὶ Ἐορτάσιον σχολάδων 'κοί.  
[. . . .] τὰ ὑπομνήματα ὅλα τοῦ Ἀγουσταλίω ἃ ἔχεις φω(ν)-  
35 ὄν, 'μέλω ἐφῆδὸν ὡς χρῆ', μετὰ σπουδῆς μ[ο]ι ἀπόστειλον. [χ]ρί-  
αν γὰρ αὐτῶν ἔχω ἐν Πηλωσίω. μὴ ἄνα. . . η. εἰ. ε. ε. . . .  
τῆς ἐλευθέρου μου καὶ ἐν τούτῳ με χρεώστην με ἔχεις,  
καθὼς καὶ αὐτὴ σε προξ[. . .]τρέψατο. θαρῶ δὲ ὅτι μάλ-  
40 λον τὰ πάντα ποεῖς ὡς ἐμὲ παρόντος, εἶνα δυνηθῶμεν  
τὰ δημόσια εὖρεῖν. μὴ ἀμελήσεις δὲ τοὺς κίονας. ἐπίγει  
τοὺς προνοητάς. ἐλεύθερον θηρωρὸν εὖρέ.

3 ω corr. or rewritten; 1 ἐποουράνιον 4-5 I. νυμφεῖσεις 6 I. τέκνα 7 εχῶ 9 I. ἐπιθεῖς  
10-11 I. ἐκκλησίαν 13 I. ἀλοκόττινα 14 ἀναλουεῖ; 1 ἀνάλωσον 15 I. τελίωσον  
15 16 I. ἐκκλησίαν 16 εὐρέ 17 ἰσαϊαίς 20 ἀγορασοῦ 22 I. ἀρκονταῖ; τελίωσο;

I. τελίωσον 23-4 τῷ πεμον 25 I. ἀλευτικόν 26-7 I. ἐνεγκεῖν 28 I. παρήδεις; ταυτῆ  
31 I. ἀξίωσει 32 I. ἐτοίμασον 33 I. περιέλαθε, ἀπέσειλα, σχολάζοντα 34 I. Ἀγουσταλίω  
34-5 φῶ[ον]; I. ἔχεις φωνῶν 35 I. μέλλω ἐπιδεῖν, ἀπέσειλον 35-6 I. κρείαν 36 I. Πηλωσίω  
37 I. τούτω 39 I. ἐμοῦ, ἴνα 40 I. ἀμελήσεις, ἐπίγει 41 θηρωρῶν: ρ corr. from λ; I. θηρωρῶν

'To my lord brother Athanasius, Didymus. By your god in heaven, as you shall find wives for your male children, before all, with me as your debtor for this great favour, devote yourself to the church! As for the price of the donkey and the other three *solidi*, spend out of these and finish the church, for Isiaias the stonemason has found the stones already, so he made an agreement with the man. And buy two *solidi* (worth of stones?) and they will be enough. Finish the columns. Have the fishing-boat transport (them) from Tampemu before the river falls. I beg you, do not disregard this request of mine, for indeed you are acting for the sake of my soul and of yours.'

'I pray for your health for many years.'

'Make ready for the repair of the irrigation machines of the estate. Make a tour of the estate. I sent you Heortasius too to be at your disposal. All the records of proceedings of the Augustal of which you have been shouting, 'I am going to examine (them) properly', send off to me speedily, for I have need of them in Pelusium . . . (of?) my wife and in this you will have me as your debtor, as she herself urged you. I am confident that you will do everything as if I were present all the more in order that we may be able to find the public taxes. Don't neglect the columns. Drive the stewards on. Find a free man to be doorkeeper.'

3-4 τὸν ἐποουράνιον (I. ἐποουράνιον) σου θεόν. See H. Ljungvik, *Eranos* 27 (1929) 170-1 for the oath without an introductory particle, *μὲ οἱ νῆ*, citing VI 941 8 (punctuate . . . μόνον πᾶρεχέ μοι. τὸν δὲ θεόν σου, εἰθὺς . . . δῆλωσόν μοι τὴν παρ' αὐτοῦ ἀπόκρισιν), XVI 1841 4, 1859 4-6, PSI VIII 973. 3 (punctuate . . . πάνν. καὶ τὸν θεόν σου, εἰπὲ τῷ ἀδελφῷ . . .), 7-8 (punctuate . . . Καλονύμω. τ[δ]ν θεόν σου, . . . σκύλλησον εἰς τὸ νομικίον . . .), 9-10 (punctuate . . . [ . . . ] αἰ. τὸν θεόν σου, διζὼν τὴν ἐπιστολὴν ταύτην Θεοδώρω . . .). Cf. S. G. Kapsomenakis, *Voruntersuchungen zu einer Grammatik der Papyri der nachchristlichen Zeit* 95 n. 1, adding P. Ross.-Georg. III 18. 8.

For confusion of *ou* and *o* see F. T. Gignac, *Grammar* i 208-211, cf. here lines 14(?), 22(?), 34, 36. 4-6 For this unusual expression there is a close parallel, the only one known, in P. Ant. I 44. 14-15 ἀλλ' οὕτως νυμφεῖσεις (I. -σεις?) τὰ παιδία σου τῆς ἀξιώσεως μου μνημόνευ(ς)ον. The future tense, as here, is probably more appropriate than the subjunctive. That letter is assigned to the late fourth or fifth century, and by coincidence also mentions Pelusium, cf. 36 here, but it is from Antinoopolis and has no relation with ours.

17 Ἰσαϊαίς. This name is unknown, unless it is a garbled version of Ἡσαΐας. If so, the initial iota is the phonetic equivalent of eta, cf. Gignac, op. cit. i 235-6, while *ει* is for *iota*, op. cit. i 189-191. The second *iota* would be a case of 'vowel development', op. cit. i 310-311 (no example after sigma).

18 λαοξόδος. See Gignac, op. cit. ii 37. Cf. XLVI 3308 5 n. 3308 of AD 373 gives a *terminus ante quem* for the reappearance in Byzantine times of the classical form, displaced in earlier papyri by *λαξός*.

20-22 The instruction is probably to buy stones to the value of two *solidi*, cf. e.g. H. C. Youtie, *Scripturae Posterioris* ii 672-3 πέμψης . . . ἐρωξόλου δραχμῶν εἰκοσι, 'send . . . twenty drachmas' worth of cotton', even if in other contexts the papyri speak of buying *solidi* by paying for them in the subsidiary coinage, e.g. LVIII 3401.

The resources available were three *solidi* plus the price, unstated, of a donkey (11-14), and out of these (ξῆ αὐτῶν 14) the church was to be completed.

Comparison of *τελ(ε)ίωσον τοὺς κίονας* here (22-3) with *τελ(ε)ίωσον τὴν ἐκ(κ)λησίαν* above (15-16) suggests that the stones of 17 were intended to make up these columns. The price of 2 *solidi* represents  $\frac{1}{16}$  of a *libra* of gold, or in modern weight just under 9 grammes. In I 134 of AD 569 a chief of an association of quarrymen (expand *κεφαλ(αιωτῆς) τῶν λαοτόμων* 15-16, similarly 33) contracted to supply and deliver 200 large stones for 1 *solidus*. In XVI 1911 166-8 of AD 557 the Apion estate bought 150 large stones from quarrymen at 1 *solidus* less (a discount of) 4½ carats. These texts give some clue to the extent of the work, although our ideas are bound to remain vague, especially since the sums given here refer only to the end of the work on the church and we do not know what preceded. On church building in Egypt see E. Wipszycka, *Les ressources . . . des églises* 105-9, esp. 107 on XVI 2041, an impressive list of stones bought for building work on a church of St. Philoxenus, presumably the one in Oxyrhynchus, cf. XI 1357 24, 38, 58, 64.

22 ἀρκούνται. It is only remotely possible that this could be jussive subjunctive, 'let them suffice', cf. B. G. Mandilaras, *The Verb* 250–253 (§§554–561, esp. 560); it is more likely that it stands for ἀρκοῦνται, cf. 3–4 n. para. 2, the present tense for the future, *ibid.* 102–105 (§§214–219), 'they will be enough'.

23–4 Τα(μ)περού. Cf. P. Pruneti, *I centri abitati* 188, with the map at the end of the book. We know that it was in the Eastern toparchy and it seems that the ancient name survives in the place called Tambu.

25 ἄλιωτικόν = ἄλιεντικόν. For this spelling cf. SB V 8247. 20 πορέεθε for πορέεθε, see F. T. Gignac, *Grammar* i 234, where it is the sole example of its type.

26 ἀποβάσεις, 'fall of the Nile flood'. See SB XVI 12312. 14 (25 BC), P. Lond. IV 1346. 10, 1465 (descr.; both 8th cent.), and especially P. Mich. inv. 5795 (O. M. Pearl, *TAPA* 87 (1956) 51–9; with D. Bonneau, *Le fisc et le Nil* 46–8) of the second century AD, which gives measurements for the fall of the flood water and repeatedly contrasts ἀπόβ(ασίς) with its opposite ἀνάβ(ασίς), 'rise of the flood', cf. 4004 12.

29–30 There was evidently a strong feeling that the bottom right hand corner of the sheet was the appropriate place for the farewell formula, cf. LVI 3865 34–7 n. In this case it has been crowded in there in a smaller, very cursive style, although it would have fitted much more comfortably at the end of the letter on the other side. It could possibly be in a second hand, which would not be unusual, since even senders who made use of an amanuensis often wrote their own farewell, but the ink and weight of the strokes seem much the same.

31 For the common practice of writing lines in the left margin cf. LV 3814 29–30 n. Note that the passage of Cicero cited there was mentioned already by G. Zereteli, P. Jernstedt, P. Ross.-Georg. III 1. 28 n.

32 κατασκευή(ν). For loss of nasals see F. T. Gignac, *Grammar* i 111–114. μηχανών. At this date μηχανή can mean the land associated with an irrigation machine as well as the machine itself, see 4002 17–18 n., but here the primary meaning seems appropriate.

ἐτύμασον = ἐτοίμασον. Cf. Gignac, *op. cit.* i 197–9.

33 περίεθε = περίεθε. Cf. Gignac, *op. cit.* i 102–7, esp. 105 4b. 2. χολάδων = χολάζοντα. For interchange of delta and zeta cf. Gignac, *op. cit.* i 76. For the tendency of the nominative to predominate over the oblique cases of the participle see B. G. Mandilaras, *The Verb* 357 (§879. 1–3).

34 Ἀγουσταλίω ≠ Ἀβουσταλίω. Ἀγ- for Ἀβγ- is frequent, see Gignac, *op. cit.* i 228; on ω for ου see 3–4 n. para. 2.

The fact that proceedings before the Augustal prefect were to be used in Pelusium in Augustamnica, see introd., is an indication of the application of his authority in the praesidial provinces of Egypt, cf. XLVI PP. 93–4.

34–5 εἶχis φων(ν)ῶν = εἶχis φωνῶν, 'you have been shouting'. On periphrastic perfects with εἶχω as the auxiliary see R. Kühner, B. Gerth, *Ausführliche Grammatik*<sup>3</sup> II, ii 61–2 (§482. 11); for late Greek, in which it seems that present participles are less rare, see D. Tabachovitz, *Études sur le grec de la basse époque* 24–5. F. T. Gignac, *Grammar* i 307 and B. G. Mandilaras, *The Verb* 240 (§525) mention the fact that the modern language regularly has εἶχω as an auxiliary, but they cite from the papyri only XVI 1875 12–13 εἰρηκώς ... ὡς ταῦτα ἀποκρότως ὑμῖν εἶχε δοθησόμενά μοι δι' ὑμῶν, 'having said ... that he would have them given me by you immediately', which looks extremely idiosyncratic. Better perhaps is XIX 2228 39–40 (ἵνα 38) ... [καὶ πρό]νοιαν ποιήσῃ τοῦ ἐκτενῶς αὐτὰ (sc. θρέμματα) τρέφεσθαι, ἐμοὶ τε δηλώσας ὡς εἶχ[εις] πεποιηκώς, 'so that you may ... and may take care that they (the animals) are reared carefully and that you inform me how you have acted'. Although inspection of the original confirms that εἶχ[εις] is probable, and that no part of εἰμὶ is likely, cf. Gignac *op. cit.* 305–7, some residual doubt is inevitable when the usage is so rare and there is damage to the text. Here too there is enough damage for the text not to be above all suspicion, but this interpretation is hard to resist.

The verb φωνεῖν is not a neutral term for 'say'. In proceedings we often find it used for the shouted utterances of the crowd, e.g. XXIV 2407 3, 11, 15, 18, 19 etc., which suggests that there is something uncomplimentary in the expression here.

35 μέλω = μέλλω. On the simplification of double consonants and the gemination of single ones see Gignac, *op. cit.* i 154–65, esp. 155.

ἐφῆδῶν = ἐπεδῶν. The iotacisms are routine; the false aspiration is almost universal in this word, cf. Gignac, *op. cit.* i 136–7.

For the position of μ[ο]ι, which seems odd at first sight, cf. 4002 15, P. Fouad 79. 7–8, P. Strasb. IV 286. 11, SB VI 9017 No. 9.

36 Πηλωσίω = Πηλωσίω. Cf. 3–4 n. para. 2.

This may indicate that the letter was written from Pelusium, but it is also possible that εἶχω has a future sense, 'I shall have need of them in Pelusium', cf. 22 n.

For the implications of the sender's journey to Pelusium on legal business see introd., where it is argued that the relation between Oxyrhynchus and Pelusium seen in this document is an indication that it should be dated before the foundation of Arcadia.

The damage at the end of the line does not seem insurmountable, but so far nothing plausible has been found among the many possible readings.

37 For ἡ ἐλευτέρα, 'wife', see e.g. CPR V 22. 4 n.; cf. 4004 4.

38 προε[...], ἴπρέφατο. It is virtually certain that προετρέφατο was intended, but the rewriting and the damage make it difficult to see what went wrong. The first omicron may have been rewritten too.

41 προνοητάς. Cf. introd. para. 2, comparing LV 3804 introd. on the functions of the stewards of the Apion estates, with due allowances for the large scale of the Apion enterprise. There is the possibility that these are ecclesiastical stewards. We have evidence, see E. Wipszycka, *Les ressources ... des églises* 144–9 that at least the episcopal churches had finance managers bearing this title and that rich churches had more than one προνοητής (XVI 1894). However, if the church here is just being built, it seems unlikely that it would have landed estates large enough to require more than one steward, so it is perhaps more likely that they are working for some secular estate, one which Didymus owns or has important functions in also.

ἐλεύθερον θηρωρῶν (l. θυρωρῶν). There is an implication here that a doorkeeper might be expected to be a slave if there was no statement to the contrary, cf. already A. Calderini, M. Mondini, 'Repertorio per lo studio delle letter private' in *Studi della Scuola Papirologica di Milano* ii 109–248: 'θυρωρός, portiere, generalmente schiavo' (149), cf. I. Biezińska-Malowitz, *L'Esclavage* i 73, 75 n. 60. Compare perhaps SB XII 11169 (from S. Daris, *Stud. Pap.* 13 (1974) 39–43), where Βερενείκη παιδικῆ [ (g) is followed by Ἀθηναῖδι θυρωροῦσῃ ... [ (10), cf. 13 Ἀββη Ἀραβίση θυρωροῦσῃ, where the ethnic may well imply servile status.

In this context the post may well be that of doorkeeper to the church, cf. I 141 3–4 θυρωροῦ(ν) τοῦ ἁγίου Ἰωάννου (AD 503), P. Princ. II 87. 14–15 θυρωρῶ τοῦ ἁγίου Θεοδώρου (AD 612). We learn very little from the papyri about the Christian church's opposition to slavery, see J. A. Straus in *Aufstieg und Niedergang der römischen Welt* II 10. 1 p. 897, but it may very well be the reason for the insistence on a free doorkeeper, perhaps even if he is not to be the doorkeeper of the church.

θηρωρῶν. Read θυρωρῶν. For eta replacing upsilon in this word see F. T. Gignac, *Grammar* i 263, citing P. Med. II 77 (=SB VI 9509). 4. 9: θηλουροῦ, -ός; this parallel also applies here to the first rho, which is corrected from lambda, cf. *ibid.* 103. Note too that the dictionary spelling θυρωρός is less common in the papyri than θυρωρός, *ibid.* 211.

H. G. IOANNIDOU

#### 4004. THEODORUS TO CANOPUS

68 6B.23/J(1)a

17 × 31 cm

Fifth century

At the beginning Theodorus offers Canopus condolences on the death of his wife (1–7), but as usual in papyrus letters this subject is dropped quickly and other everyday matters are raised, cf. LV 3819 introd., esp. para. 3 for this peculiarity. Theodorus then invites Canopus and another man called Valentinus to come and visit him at a village to which they are to be conveyed by boat. It is the season of the Nile flood, and since this is supposed to be news to Canopus, the flood must only just have begun, which it usually did about mid-July. Canopus is asked to bring with him various textiles which had been to the cleaner. These belonged to at least three people, whose names are given. The body of the letter ends with greetings to two other men, Didymus

and Philoxenus, and a general greeting to 'all your people'. A second hand then adds a conventional farewell formula, followed by a postscript saying that he did not send some wheat to Canopus so that it could be given to him when he arrived.

The body of the letter, like the address on the back, was presumably written by a clerk. His hand is a good big upright cursive, with many exaggerated risers and descenders. His spelling includes some iotacisms, but is otherwise good. The farewell and postscript are in a more modest sloping cursive, though this too has a few exaggerated descenders. It is certainly the hand of Theodorus himself. It is a pity that we are not given any titles or any other firm clue to the social context of the people involved, but the general impression is that of comfortable middle or upper class life.

A sheet join running vertically about two thirds of the width from the left edge shows that the letter is written along the fibres of the recto of the roll from which this piece of papyrus was cut. The address runs downwards along the fibres of the back. Its position shows that the letter was packaged to be sent in the normal way, rolled up with the right edge of the document inside, cf. 3989 introd. para. 3, although in this case there is no design to mark the central position where the binding passed round the package.

κυρίω μου ἀλη[θ]ῶς [τ]ιμιωτάτω ἀδελφῶ Κανώπω,  
(vac.) Θ[εόδω]ρος.

πάνυ ἐλυπήθημεν [ἀ]κο[ύ]ς[α]ντές τι π[αθεῖν] Μ[ακα]ρίαν  
τὴν σὴν ἐλευθέραν, 'κα[ὶ οὐκ]' [.] ἀλ[όγ]ως τοσοῦτον ὁ υἱός σου  
5 Γρατιανὸς ἐπόθηεν αὐτήν, καὶ ἔτι δὲ οἱ  
ἄλλοι αὐτῆς υἱοί. πλὴν τί δυνάμε[θα] ποιῆσαι  
πρὸς τὸ ἀνθρώπινον? καταξίωσον οὖν σεαυτὸν  
παραμυθίσασθαι καὶ σκυλμὸν ὑπ[ο]μ[ε]ν[ε]ν[αι]· καὶ  
ἐλθεῖν πρὸς μετὰ τοῦ κυρίου μου Οὐαλεντίνου  
10 ἐν τῇ Νήσῳ. χρεῖαν γὰρ ἔχω τῆς εὐγενείας <σου> καὶ πάλι  
ποιῶ και διὰ κἀφους προπεμθῆναι. μὴ [ο]ῦν  
ὀκνήσης, ὅτι ἀνάβασίς ἐστιν. ἐρχόμενος δὲ καταξίωσον  
ἐνέγκε [.] ὅσα [c] ἔχεις· γνάμμα. εἰδὼν δέ: στιχάριον  
Ναθαναήλ, βάρχη λευκή, στιχάριον Κυγκλητικῆς,  
15 μαφόριον τῆς Κύρας, στιχάριον Κύρας.  
προσαγορεύω Δίδυμον καὶ Φιλόξενον  
καὶ πάντας τοὺς σούς.

(m. 2) ἐρρώσθαι σε εὖχομαι  
χρόνοις πολλοῖς, κύριε

20

τιμιώτατε ἀδελφε.  
περὶ τοῦ σίτου μὴ ἀμφίβαλλε. ἐγὼ οὐκ  
ἔπεμψα αὐτὸν ἵνα σοὶ ἐλθόντι π[α]ρα-  
μετρηθῇ.

Back, downwards along the fibres:

(m. 1?) κυρίω μου ἀληθῶς (vac.) τιμιωτάτω ἀδελφῶ Κανώπω  
Θεόδωρος.

4 ἦος 6 ἦοι 10 l. εὐγενείας 11 l. σε, προπεμθῆναι 13 l. ἐνέγκεαι 22 ἴνα

'To my truly most honoured lord brother Canopus, Theodorus. We were much grieved (to hear the fate of Macaria) your wife, (and it is understandable that) your son Gratianus mourned her so (much, (and also) her other sons. But what can we do against mortality? So please comfort yourself and make the effort and come to me with my lord Valentinus at Neson. For I have need of your kind self, and again(?) I shall have you brought by boat. Do not hesitate, for the river has risen. When you come please bring all the cleaned clothes that you have. Here is the list: Nathanael's tunic, a white blanket(?), Syncretice's tunic, Cyra's cape, Cyra's tunic. I greet Didymus and Philoxenus and all your people.'

(2nd hand) 'I pray for your health for many years, most honoured lord brother.'

'As for the wheat, don't worry. I didn't send it myself so that it could be measured out to you when you come.'

Address: (1st hand?) 'To my truly most honoured lord brother Canopus, Theodorus.'

1 Above ἀλη[ there is an unexplained horizontal stroke running to the edge of a gap c. 1 cm wide beyond which there are no remains. It could possibly be the left hand part of a simple Christian cross or of the so-called monogrammatic cross (✠), cf. LVI 3871 1-2 n. The trace does not suit *χμγ*, cf. LVI 3862 1 n., or the symbol normally transcribed π(αρά), cf. LVI 3867 1 n.

3-5 The damage in these lines makes the exact text doubtful, but there seems to be no doubt that it was the wife of Canopus who died.

A low trace of mu makes the plural ἐλυπήθημεν virtually certain. For ἐλυπήθηον ἀκούσας cf. P. Lund. II 3. 5-6, P. Mich. XIV 679. 20, XII 1481 4-5. For πάσχειν τι without ἀνθρώπινον cf. P. Elcph. 2. 3-6 (*quater*), P. Tebt. I 44. 27, M. Chr. 284. 19. There are two odd traces rather far above the line which would fall in the lacuna postulated by the restoration of τι π[αθεῖν] Μ[ακα]ρίαν, which in itself is rather cramped. If something had to be added above the line this might account for what seems on the present view to be surprising concision. γίν[εσθαι] μ[ακα]ρίαν, 'become blessed, die', has also been considered, but no parallel has been found and -ές τι compares very well with the same letters in ἐσεν (12). For acc. and inf. after ἀκούσεν cf. B. G. Mandilaras, *The Verb* 331 (§801), F. Blass, A. Debrunner, F. Rehkopf, *Grammatik des neutestamentlichen Griechisch*<sup>15</sup> 327 (§397. 1). καὶ ἔτι δέ seems to occur only in the damaged text of P. Strasb. VIII 701. 19, and therefore must be suspect here, especially when ἔτι δέ καὶ is so common; the traces do not suit ἐνθάδε, ἀλλ' οὐδέ or ὅδε, but (-)δε seems certain.

4-6 ὁ υἱός σου ... οἱ ἄλλοι αὐτῆς υἱοί. No firm conclusions can be drawn because of the loose use of terms of relationship in the papyri, cf. 3988 introd. para. 1, but taken at face value these phrases would suggest that Gratianus was the son of Canopus and Macaria, while her other sons were from a previous relationship or relationships.

6 For πλὴν = ἀλλά cf. F. Blass, A. Debrunner, F. Rehkopf, *Grammatik des neutestamentlichen Griechisch*<sup>15</sup> 379-80 (§449).

8 σκυλμὸν ὑπ[ο]μ[ε]ν[ε]ν[αι]. Cf. esp. I 125 13-14 ὑπομείναι βλάβην ἢ ζημίαν ἢ ὄχλησιν ἢ σκυλμὸν, 16-17 ὁ βλάβην ἢ ὄχλησιν ἢ σκυλμὸν, and on σκυλμὸς generally A. Passoni dell'Acqua, *Aegyptus* 54 (1974) 197-202; several of her examples refer to the strains and fatigue of travelling. The Rev. Juan Chapa has kindly drawn

our attention to a new parallel in SB XVI 12980. 2 παρακαλὼν αὐτὴν (= τὴν ὑμετέραν ἀδελφότητα) κυκλῶν ὑπομείναι ἕως ἐνταῦθα ... φέροντες μεθ' ἑαυτῶν καὶ τὰ ... παῖδια ... ἵνα ἀπολαύσωμεν καὶ τῆς κατὰ πρόσωπον ἡμῶν προσκε[υ]νήσεως, 'inviting you to make the effort to come here ... bringing with you your ... children too ... so that we can enjoy the pleasure of saluting you face to face'.

10 ἐν τῇ Νήσῳ. The convincing interpretation of this as a place name, rather than νήσος(ιν) with a superfluous nasal (cf. F. T. Gignac, *Grammar* i 112–4), we owe to the Rev. Juan Chapa. He refers especially to P. Nephros pp. 11–14 for the κόμη Νήσων of the Heracleopolite nome. It seems to have been near the boundary with the Cynopolite nome on the south and on the east bank of the Nile, probably opposite Oxyrhynchite territory on the west bank. The κ. Νήσων of SB I 1967, accepted as Oxyrhynchite in P. Pruneti, *I centri abitati* 121, is probably the same place, likewise the ὄρμου Νήσων of XVI 1997 2.

εὐγενίας <ου> (l. -είας). Cf. H. Zilliaceus, *Untersuchungen zu den abstrakten Anredeformen* 47, 68. Correction to τῆς <ής> εὐγεν(ε)ίας might be more plausible palaeographically, and it is possible, cf. LV 3821 4, 6, PSI VII 843. 8, cf. 4–5, 836. 5, 7, 8, all three private letters, but P. Strasb IV 180. 2, τῇ εἰ εὐγενία, is the only occurrence of this form in a private letter available on the Ibycus (Duke Data Bank of Documentary Papyri), although it is common in contracts of the same period. The balance of the evidence suggests a preference for ἡ εἰ εὐγ. in contracts and ἡ εὐγ. ου in letters.

10–11 καὶ πάλιν ... προσημ(φ)ῶθῆναι. Professor Parsons, pointing out that προπέμπω is used particularly with reference to a return journey, see *LSJ* s.v., suggests that in this case too the offer refers to transport for the return.

12 ἀνάβασις, 'high water'. Cf. 4003 26 n. on ἀπόβασις, 'low water'.

13 ἐνέγκω (l. ἐνέγκαι). See F. T. Gignac, *Grammar* ii 338–40, esp. 339.

γνώψια. *Add. text.* These were presumably clothes which had been sent to a fuller to go through the fulling process (γνώψις), cf. E. Wipszycka, *L'Industrie textile dans l'Égypte romaine* 129–45. We may guess that the fulling establishment was in Oxyrhynchus, where this letter was found, and that people living in the country like Theodoros had to send their clothes to the city for professional cleaning. LIV 3766 iii is a price declaration from the Oxyrhynchite guild of fullers.

επιχάριον. This was a light shirt or tunic of linen, see S. Lauffer, *Diokletians Preisediktt* 240, 56–9 n.

14 Ναθαναήλ. This biblical name is known in the papyri otherwise only from P. Lond. IV 1431. 33 (8th cent.).

ράχνη, 'blanket(?)'. This form of the word appears only in the papyri. P. Gen. 80. 7 has ράχνη α, which Wilcken (BL i 168 = *Anchis* 3 (1904–6) 404) corrected to ράχνη β, implying a neuter ράχνος, see *LSJ* s.v., but this seemed unlikely in view of the strong evidence for ἡ ράχνη, see also J. M. Diethart, *ZPE* 64 (1986) 79, *Analecta Papyrologica* 2 (1990) 89. Dr Paul Schubert has kindly looked again at the original and informs us that the numeral letter is very badly abraded, but that with the aid of a microscope its remains can clearly be seen as those of an alpha. The editor, Jules Nicole, made the only published suggestion about the nature of the textile, commenting, 'désigne-t-il un tissu très fin?', and leaving us to guess that he derived it from ἀράχνη and compared the weave with cobwebs.

Stud. Pal. III 407. 1 has ]λτ' α ζ (l. και?) ραχνη' πρασινο' εχου(ει) δλωρω[ , i.e. ]λτ( ) α (και) ράχνη πράσινο(ε) ἔχου(εα) δλωρω( ) ], '1 (cross-belt, βάλτιον?), and a leek green blanket with a double-striped(?) ...', cf. Lewis and Short, *Latin Dictionary* s.v. *diloris*; or better perhaps, 'with a double stripe (of another colour)', cf. S. Daris, *ZPE* 85 (1991) 273, correcting P. Strasb. II 131. 8 to read μαφόριον λευκὸν ἡμιτρεβῆν (l. -έε) δλωρων (for ed. pr. διδωρων) ἀπὸ ριζένης (l. -ζίνης) πορφύρας, 'a partly worn white cape with a double stripe of root purple'. Daris conjectures a substantival form of δλωρω( ) for Stud. Pal. III 407. 1.

P. Oslo III 161. 5 has a feminine accusative: ελαβον ... τὴν ράχνην. CPR VIII 65 is a list with feminine nominatives: 6 β. λευκῆ χρυσοσημου(μένη) ..., 7 β. κοκκιρά ..., 11 β. κοκκιρά ..., 12 β. χλωρά ..., 14 β. χρυσοσιμου(μένη) ... XVI 2058 22 is supposed to have the abbreviated form ραχνη(ων), see *LSJ Suppl.* s.v., but a photograph of the original, now in Cairo, shows no sign of abbreviation at this point, so although there is no formal objection to such a diminutive perhaps we should view this spelling as an iotacism, ράχνη α, 'i rache', with iota as the phonetic equivalent of eta.

The most striking feature of this collection is the range of bright colours: white, white with a gold pattern, leek green, grass green, vermilion. Gold patterned alone is perhaps the same as white with a gold pattern. This encourages an otherwise obvious connection with Diocletian's price edict (S. Lauffer, *Diokletians Preisediktt*, or M. Giacchero, *Edictum Diocletiani et Collegarum*) 7. 60–61, where a dyer is to be paid 16 den. for his work on a new *sagum* sive *rachanam* (*rachem* Aezani) = εάγου ἢ ρακάνης (ρακανοῦ Thelphousa, see

A. Petronotis, *ΕΛΛΗΝΙΚΑ* 26 (1973) 255–270, Pl. 32–3 = *SEG* 37 (1987) p. 102, no. 335 i 60; -ου is confirmed by the plates), 6 den. for work on an old one. The *sagum* was a moderately heavy rectangular blanket-like cloak, see L. M. Wilson, *The Clothing of the Ancient Romans* 104–9. In 19. 4–7 the Latin text refers repeatedly to a *rachana*, where the Greek has ἐνόδρομος; the ἐνόδρομος is best known as a wrap worn by athletes after taking exercise, see especially Martial IV 19, which suits the equation or comparison with the *sagum*, but these passages seem to refer to bedding or hangings:

4 [rachana ... πεπλουν XVI [tincta \* MMD] = ἐνόδρομος ἑε παπυλιῶνα μία ἔχουσα μήκουσ καὶ πλάτους πόδας ἑε βαπτῆ \* βββ'.

'One furnishing(?) for a tent with a length and breadth of 16 feet, dyed den. 2,500'.

5 rachana optima grabata[ria] alba libr. XII \* MDC = ἐνόδρομος καλλίστη κρεβαττάρια λευκῆ λειτροῦν ἑε \* ραχ.

'Best quality white blanket(?) for a bed, weighing 12 pounds den. 1,600'.

6 rachana Arabica sive Damascena uel alterius ciuitatis tincta habita ratione ponderis lanae et plumaturae di(s)tra(h)i debet = ἐνόδρομος Ἀραβικῆ ἢ Δαμασκηνῆ ἢ ἑτέρας ὀνομαζομένουσ βαπτῆ λόγου γενομένουσ τοῦ λειτρομίου τῆς ἑρέας καὶ τῆς πλουμαρῆεωσ πηρῆκεσθα ὀφείλει.

'A dyed bedspread(?) from Arabia or Damascus or any other community should be sold with account taken of the embroidery and of the poundage of the wool'.

7 rachana rustica p. X \* D = ἐνόδρομος ἰδιωτικῆ λ. ἑ \* φ'.

'A home-made(?) blanket(?) weighing 10 pounds den. 500'.

Similarly a fuller is to receive 30 den. for work on a new *rachana* = ἐνόδρομος ἡτοι ρακάνης (ρακάνης Theb.: 22. 4).

The *rachana*, therefore, was not at all like a spider's web. An ordinary one weighed about ten Roman pounds, a little over seven of our pounds, a little under three and a quarter kilos. One of the best quality for use on a bed weighed twelve Roman pounds. The dyed and embroidered ones sound more like bed covers for show than blankets; the material of these is stated to be wool. The dyed tent furnishing, a massive square of sixteen Roman feet, nearly four and three quarter metres, was certainly no cobweb, although the exact use of it in connection with a tent is not obvious from the description.

Although the Greek transliteration of *rachanae* in Diocletian's edict is ρακάνης (7. 60, with variant ρακανοῦ in one copy; 22. 4, with variant ρακάνας in one copy), the papyrus references to the ράχνη as a textile fabric, sometimes white, sometimes brightly coloured, encourage the identification. The Latin word was presumably accented on the first syllable.

One entry in G. Goetz, *CGL* V 327. 45, *racana* huitil sax, i.e. sax(onic), provides both a Latin spelling closer to the Edict's Greek, ρακάνη, and a confirmation of the meaning, since Anglo-Saxon huitel means 'a whittle, cloak, mantle, blanket', J. Bosworth, T. N. Toller, *An Anglo-Saxon Dictionary* p. 577, cf. *Suppl.* pp. 583–4, s.v. (reference kindly supplied by Dr A. V. C. Schmidt). The Oxford *MED*, s.v. whittle, gives references for the word in various related senses, going down as late as 1871 for a dialect word 'whittle', explained in that case as equivalent to 'shawl'. A second entry in *CGL* V 623. 17, *raganus* (uel nelle *sup. scr.*) coopteriorium uel panniculus, is obviously related, although the form of the lemma and the addition over the line present unsolved problems.

Συγκλητικῆς. This name, not in F. Preisigke, *Namenbuch* or D. Foraboschi, *Onomasticon*, can be found in W. Pape, G. E. Benseler, *Wb. d. gr. Eigennamen*, s.v. *Сυκκλ-*, and in H. Solin, *Die gr. Personennamen in Rom* ii 982: one T. Antonius Syncreticus and two Syncreticae, a Papiiria and an Aelia. Cf. A. H. M. Jones *et al.*, *The Prosopography of the Later Roman Empire* ii 1048 s.v. Syncretica (one; mid-5th cent.).

15 μαφόριον. See R. S. O. Tomlin in B. Cunliffe (ed.), *The Temple of Sulis Minerva at Bath*, Vol. ii The Finds from the Sacred Spring, 192 (No. 61. 5 n.). It was a short cape covering neck and shoulders, usually worn by women, cf. Diocl. *Edict. de pret.* 29. 29 (Giacchero), A. Bazzero, *Studi della Scuola Papirologica di Milano* ii 95–102. In the Latin forms the stem invariably ends in -t, *maforte*, *mafortium*, *mafurtium*; in the papyri μαφόριον occurs frequently, presumably by contamination with *φέρος*, but μαφόριον is more common and μαφόρητις is not uncommon, see S. Daris, *Lessico latino* 72–73.

τῆς Κύρας could perhaps be interpreted as τῆς κυράς = κυρία, 'the mistress's cape', see F. T. Gignac, *Grammar* i 302, followed by 'Cyra's tunic'. This may be better, but it is hard to dissociate the two identical spellings. If they do refer to the same person, the article may indicate that Cyra is mentioned in a particularly warm and friendly tone, 'ein gemüthlich-familiärer Ton', E. Mayer, *Grammatik* ii. 2 p. 6 (§54. 1).

21 ἐγώ. The reading is doubtful; ἐπέε, which would make good sense, will not fit the traces.

## 4005. TO THEODOSIUS

68 6B.22/O(1-2)a

30.5 × 11.5 cm

Sixth century

It emerges that Theodosius was the employee of a landowner, just possibly as a steward of a country area (*προνοητής*), see 11–12 n. The sender called him 'brother' and in this case might have been his brother-in-law, because he wrote to reassure Theodosius about Mary, 'our sister and your wife', and later sent him a message from 'Abraham, your father-in-law'. The subjects are exclusively private: a cloak given to Mary, a failed attempt by the sender to get money due to Theodosius from the landowner, orders to buy a box and weaver's combs for another woman, who had the unusual name of Phoebadia, as well as a lump of iron worth a quarter of a *solidus*, presumably for the sender, and a whole *solidus* worth of Ascalonian jars for Abraham.

The writing is a rapid cursive, probably of the sixth century, too hasty to be beautiful, but very practised. There are some phonetic spelling errors and one or two repetitions due to haste, some corrected (3), others left unnoticed (5, 8, 10).

The long lines are written parallel with the height of the original roll from which the piece was cut and across the fibres of the recto, as is shown by a sheet join running through line 3, overlapping downwards. This is a format for letters which became popular in the high Byzantine period, probably in the sixth century, cf. LVI 3866–7, 3869–73, below 4006–8. It is in fact what is called *transversa charta*, see E. G. Turner, *The Terms Recto and Verso* (Pap. Brux. 16) 26–53, esp. 49–50 on the Byzantine period, although Turner devotes his discussion particularly to long documents. With this format the older prescript was not used and we only learn the names of the people from the addresses, which in many cases are damaged by dirt and abrasion, as here, where there are also heavy blots to make it even less legible.

For dispatch the letter was folded along a vertical line about 13 cm from the right edge and about 17 cm from the left edge and the smaller right portion was laid face down over the left one. At this stage the normal practice would have been to roll the letter up from the bottom, cf. LVIII 3932 introd., but in this case it appears from the patterns of damage and dirt that the top and bottom edges were brought to the middle and the package was pressed flat. Then a binding was tied round it and on the other side, where the surface was not interrupted by the meeting edges, the address was written in two lines, one long one straddling the binding and another below the right half of the first, to the right of a design inked over the binding.

μη θελήσης μηδεμίαν φροντιδαίν) ἔχειν περὶ τῆς ἡμῶν ἀδελφῆς Μαρίας, σοῦ δὲ  
 συμβίου. οὐκ εἶομεν γάρ, τοῦ θεοῦ θέλοντος, αὐτὴν δεηθῆναι τινος, οὔτε ἐγγούμεν  
 ποιῆσαι αὐτῇ πρᾶγμα. καθὼς δὲ γέγραφας περὶ τοῦ κοκκηροῦ ἱμα[τα]πίου, δέδωκα[. ]  
 μὲν αὐτῇ, παρεγενάμην δὲ πρὸς τὸν σὸν γεούχον θέλον λαβεῖν ἓνα χρύσινον  
 ἐκ τοῦ σοῦ ὄψωνιου, ποιήσας αὐτῷ {ποιήσας αὐτῷ} καὶ ἰδιούχειρον, καὶ οὐδὲν ἠρέχετο μοι

δοῦναι. μικρὸν δὲ γλωσσοκωμίον καταξίωσον ἀγοράσαι τῇ ἀδελφῇ σου Φοιβαδίᾳ καὶ τέσσαρα  
 κτένια τῶν γερθενῶν. εἰ δὲ δυνήθης ἀγοράσαι ἐνὸς γράμματος σιδήρων μαδίων, μὴ ὀκνήσης τοῦτο  
 ποιῆσαι. ἐπέτρεψέν με δὲ Ἀβραάμιος ὁ σὸς πενθερὸς γράψαι σοὶ ὡστε εἰ λάβης χρύσινον ἀπὸ τοῦ {γ. }  
 γεούχου σου, συνωνήσασθαι αὐτῷ ἐνὸς χρύσινον ἀκαλῶνια. πολλὰ δὲ παραγορεύομεν ἀπὸ  
 10 μικροῦ ἔως μεγάλου(ς) τὴν σὴν διάθεσιν καὶ ὑγιαίνομεν σὺν θεῷ.

Back, along the fibres:

ἐπίδ(ος) τῷ δεσπότη ἀδελφ(ῶ) Θεοδοσίῳ πρ. . .  
 (design) π(αρά) . . . . . ἀδελφ(οῦ).

2 l. εἶομεν, ἐννοοῦμεν	3 ἱμα[τα]πίου	4 l. θέλων	5 ἰδιούχειρον	6 l. γλωσσοκωμίον,
τέσσαρα	7 l. γερθενῶν, σιδήρειον μαζιον	8 l. μοι	9 l. χρύσινον	11 ἐπίδ, ἀδελφ
12 π., ἀδελφ				

'Please have no anxiety about Mary, our sister and your wife, for we will not allow her to want for anything, God willing, nor do we intend to make trouble for her. As you have written about the vermilion cloak, I have(?) given (it) to her, but I went to your landlord wanting to get one solidus out of your salary, after making him an autograph receipt of course, and he could not bring himself to give me anything. Please buy a small box for your sister Phoebadia and four combs for women weavers. If you can buy a cake of iron for one gram (of gold), do not hesitate to do it. Your father-in-law Abraham has commissioned me to write to you that, if you get gold from your landlord, you should buy Ascalonian jars to the value of one solidus for him. Young and old, we give your kindness many greetings and we are well, with God's help.

Address: 'Deliver to my lord brother Theodosius (?), steward (?) from ... his brother.'

1 φροντιδαίν). For the superfluous nasal see 4004 10 n.

2 εἶομεν (l. εἶομεν). For confusion of *ou* and *o* see 4003 3–4 n. para. 2.

3 κοκκηροῦ. The form *κοκκηρός* is much rarer than *κόκκιος*, but it is reasonable to presume that various refer to dye made from the bodies of insects of the genus *Coccidae* (*κόκκιος*), of which there are various types, see R. J. Forbes, *Studies in Ancient Technology* iv 100–106; cf. S. Lauffer, *Diocletians Preisedikt* 271 for more references. Until recently it was known only from Diocletian's price edict 24. 8, preserved only in Greek: *πορφύρα Νευκαπῆς* (or *Νευκαϊνῆς*) *κοκκηράς*, which makes it clear that with the basic red pigment dyes could achieve shades which were considered to be purple. Since then it has also appeared several times in CPR VIII 65, quoted in 4004 14 n., as well as here. Although we cannot know the shade of colour, perhaps 'vermilion' is the best English translation, because its derivation from *vermis* makes clear the fact that we are dealing with a red dye made from insect bodies.

3–4 Besides the confused cancellation at the end of the line there is a slight doubt whether we should read and punctuate differently, as *δεδώκαμεν αὐτῇ. παρεγενάμην δὲ κτλ.*, '... we have given (it) to her. I went ...'. This would separate the delivery of the cloak from the next sentence. The text as printed implies that the attempt to get money from the sender's landlord is connected with the cloak; perhaps the sender was buying the cloak for Mary, and wanted the money to come from the salary which was due to him, but the landlord refused to disburse money on the writer's written receipt. 'Your landlord' is slightly misleading in English; it seems that the sender was not a tenant farmer but a salaried employee of the landowner, cf. 5 n.

4 θέλον (l. θέλων). For confusion of omicron and omega see F. T. Gignac, *Grammar* i 275–7, cf. 6 *γλωσσοκωμίον* = *γλωσσοκομίον*, 7 *μαδίων* = *μαζιον*.

5 ὄψωνιου. On the salary of a *προνοητής*, if that is what Theodosius was, cf. 11–12 n., see LV 3804 154 n.

ἠρέχετο. On the double augment in this verb, which is classical, see LSJ s.v. *ἀρέχω*, F. T. Gignac, *Grammar* ii 254, B. G. Mandilaras, *The Verb* 123 (§267. 2). Expressions with *οὔ* or another negative, plus *ἀρέχεσθαι*, plus infinitive, are common in Byzantine letters on papyrus, see also LSJ s.v. *ἀρέχω* C. II 5c.

6 γλωσσοκωμίον (l. γλωσσοκομείον). Cf. H. C. Youtie, *Scriptumculae* i 443.4 (= *TAPA* 98 (1967) 517–8), 453. This was originally a specialized container used by musicians to hold the reeds belonging to the αὐλός, an instrument of the oboe family. The reeds were called γλώσσαι, ‘tongues’, perhaps because of their shape, as *LSJ* implies, perhaps also because they enabled the instrument to ‘speak’. The name of the container came to be used of any box or chest.

Φοιβαδίς. This feminine version of Phoebadius (cf. P. Ross.-Georg. V 28.2, P. Giss. I 55.6) appears to be new.

τέσσερα (l. τέσσαρα). Cf. Gignac, *Grammar* ii 190–191.

7 κτένια τῶν γερθενῶν (l. γερδιανῶν). On weaver’s combs, used at intervals during the process to beat the weft more firmly into place, see H. Blümner, *Technologie* i 159–160; *LSJ* s.v. κρέσις seems to be wrong on this point. It is not clear why women weavers are specified, except that in this case the combs are to be bought for a woman. Compare XXXI 2599 4–5 πέμφον ἡμῖν δύο κτενεω γερθενεω; the vulgar spelling is implicitly regularized to κτένια γερδιακά in the note. This too concerns women, since the writer was a woman, so we should perhaps understand κτένια γερδιανῶν. We might timidly suggest that male weavers used heavier combs.

The form γερθενῶν shows, as well as the common equivalence of epsilon with ai, see Gignac i 192–3, a vowel loss which is unusual in that it is not followed by a back vowel, but cf. op. cit. 304. b 2 ἀρχαρεῖς, τριακόσα.

ἔνός γράμματος (sc. χρυσού). It is not certain what it means to specify a price in terms of gold bullion, cf. L. C. West, A. C. Johnson, *Currency* 138–9. One *gramma* is equivalent to one quarter of a *solidus*, but there was no gold coin of this size. Most probably it refers to the equivalent in the subsidiary base-metal coinage, which changed as the value of gold rose. A rare parallel to this usage is SB XVI 12397 (from *CE* 57 (1982) 114–7), a letter in which the writer complains that he has paid too much for an old camel and her foal, to wit, five *solidi* and one *gramma* for the mother and four *solidi* less one *gramma* for the foal. The total price was nine *solidi*, so that there was no practical difficulty over the payment. It is fairly clear that in this case too γράμμα is an accounting term, not a description of a physical reality.

σιδήρον μαδίον (l. σιδήρειον μαζιον). Cf. P. Nephros 8. 9–10 (συνονήσατο 6–7) ... και σιδή[ρ]ου μαζιον ἐν μυ[ρί]ων τριῶν μυριάδων εἰκοσι, ‘he bought in ... and a cake of iron weighing three minas for twenty myriads of denarii’. The note there cites P. Ross.-Georg. III 6. 6 and especially J. Gascou, ‘Sur le mot *μακία* dans la tablette du Louvre AF 6715’, *ZPE* 60 (1985) 254–8. Note that in XXXIV 2729 15 *μαδία* = *μαζία* was wrongly interpreted as *μάτια*, the *μάτιον* being a measure of volume equivalent to one tenth of an artaba, which is unsuitable to the context. Read now κόμισον ... σιδήρα κενθ(ηράρια) β’ τέως, ἔχωντες τὰ β’ μαδία μή, i.e. σιδήρια κενθ(ηράρια) β’ τέως, ἔχοντα τὰ β’ μαζία μή, ‘... 2 hundredweight of iron so far, the 2 containing 48 cakes’. The price of them is 1,200 myriads (corrected in *Aegyptus* 64 (1984) 206), i.e. 25 myriads for the average cake, weighing 4½ Roman pounds. The price is roughly comparable with P. Neph. 8. 9–10, where the cake costing 20 myriads weighs three minas, which is just over three Roman pounds if *μνά* retains its traditional meaning, but it is perhaps likely that it was used colloquially as the exact equivalent of *λίτρα*, see D. W. Rathbone, *ZPE* 53 (1983) 267–8. The proportionate rate would be 18 myriads rather than 20, but both texts must be fairly near in date, in the region of AD 350.

8 {γ, γ}. The ink after gamma was presumably to have been epsilon, to make the first syllable of the next word, *γεούχου*. This first attempt seems to have been abandoned, without stopping to strike out the superfluous writing.

9 For *δεκαλώνια* cf. LVI 3862 25 n. One *solidus* would probably have bought two or three hundred empty jars, cf. e.g. LVIII 3942, where three *solidi* buy one thousand ordinary jars for a potter plus a few unusual sizes. Probably we should imagine that these were full of wine. Even so this would imply quite a large amount, perhaps thirty or forty jars, cf. A. C. Johnson, L. C. West, *Byzantine Egypt: Economic Studies* 179–180. Of course any exactitude is out of our reach, since we have no information about the capacity of the jars or the quality of the postulated wine.

10 ἀπό μικροῦ ἕως μεγάλου(ς). Cf. 4006 10. This is a commonplace in the Septuagint and the New Testament, cf. G. H. Karlsson, H. M. Maehler, *ZPE* 33 (1979) 291 (8–9 n.), M. Naldini, *Cristianesimo* p. 367, note to ll. 16–17.

την σὺν δίδθεω. Strictly speaking *διάθεσις*, ‘disposition, attitude’, requires an adjective, such as φιλική, μητρική, ‘friendly, motherly’, to give any meaning in this sort of context, but it became so routine as a title of address, meaning just ‘you’, that the adjective was felt to be superfluous, cf. M. Naldini, *Cristianesimo* p. 222, note to l. 23.

11–12 Dirt and abrasion, as well as blotting, have made this address very difficult to read, cf. introd. It looks as if Theodosius, if that is his name, was given a title, possibly beginning with *πρ*-. Since we know he was the salaried employee of a landowner, cf. 3–4, 5 nn., it may be permissible to guess that this was *προνοητής*, the steward of an area of an estate, for which see LV 3804 introd.

H. G. IOANNIDOU

#### 4006. CHRISTOPHER TO THEODORUS

6 1B.17/II(b)

35 × 17.5 cm

Sixth/seventh century

The recipient was a *comes* and the *μειζότερος* or major domo of the household of an Apion (11–12). As a mark of respect the sender gives him the epithet *θεοφύλακτος*, ‘God-defended’, which occurs late and is particularly common in the papyri of the Arab period from Apollonopolis Ano, cf. O. Hornickel, *Ehren- und Rangbrüdiakate* 17. Consequently Apion here ought to be Flavius Apion III, who appears first in sole charge of his estates in AD 593 and died between July 619 and early January 620, see LVIII 3939 4–5 n. This date range suits the large and flowing, very professional, script.

This was the third letter sent by Christopher asking Theodorus to send him a *καρταλάμιον* (*καρδ*- pap.), which was probably an elaborate belt, perhaps an item of military uniform, see 4 n. He gave details of the dispatch of the two previous letters and renewed the request for the object to be sent to him by the bearer of this third one. The rest is greetings, to Theodorus, to ‘our common mistress’, most probably Theodorus’ wife, to a *magnificentissimus* Faustus, who is also ‘our common brother’, and to all the household. The address on the back is unusually detailed and informative.

The letter is written *transversa charta*, see 4005 introd. A sheet join, overlapping downwards, runs horizontally through line 7, showing that the long lines run across the fibres of the recto of the roll from which the piece was cut. The letter was rolled up from the foot and squashed flat to make a long narrow package, the exposed flap was tucked inside for protection and then the address was written along the package next to that flap. A space was left in the middle of the first line of the address at the point where there was usually a binding, but the second line extends beneath it, so that any binding would have been obscured at least part of the final words.

† τρίτην ταύτην ἐπιστολήν ἐγραψ[α]. . . [ ] τ[ῷ] ἐμῷ ἀγαθῷ κ[α]ὶ θεοφύλακτῳ δεσπ[ότη] καὶ ξέ ἀν μίαν μὲν διὰ τοῦ σταβλίτου τοῦ ἀποφέροντος αὐτῇ τὰ δίδουσα, δευτέραν δὲ ὁμοίως μετὰ Ἀππα Κύρου τοῦ καθοσιωμένου, καὶ νῦν ταύτην, ὡς εἶπον, τρίτῃν χάριν τοῦ καρταλαμίου, ἵνα πέμψῃτέ μοι, καὶ βάλλω αὐτὸ εἰς τὴν . . . ]λ[ ]ν. παρακαλῶ τοῖνυν τοῦτο στείλαι μοι διὰ τοῦ ἀποδιδόντος

5

- αὐτῆ] τὰ εὐτελῆ μου γράμματα, δ[πω]ς καὶ ἐν τούτῳ χάριτας αὐτῆ ἡμολογήσω.  
 τ]αῦτα γράφας πλείετα προσκυνῶ καὶ ἀσπάζομαι τὰ ἔχη τοῦ ἐμοῦ δεσπότη  
 ἄ]χρη θέας, ἐξαιρέτως τὴν κοιν[ῆ] ἢ ἴν' δέσποιναν. + (vac.)  
 ἐξ] ἑμοῦ δὲ Φαῦστον τὸν μεγαλο(πρεπέστατον) κοινὸν ἀδελφόν, καὶ πάντας τοὺς <τοῦ> εὐλογημέ(νου)  
 10 ὅ] μὴν οἴκω, ἀπὸ μικροῦ ἕως μεγάλου, ἄχρι θεάς. +
- Back, along the fibres:
- + οἰκ(εί)ω μου<sup>+</sup> ἀγ(α)θ(ῶ) (καὶ) θεοφυλ(ά)κ(τω) δεσπό(τη) (vac.) Θεοδώρω κόμμε(τι) μειζ(ο)τ(έρω)  
 + Χριετόφορος ἡμέ(τερος)  
 δοῦλο(ς) (καὶ) ἀδελφός(ς).  
 + ἀπόδ(ος) ἐν Ὁξενυρρ(ύ)χ(ω)? τῷ ἀγ(α)θ(ῶ) Θεοδ(ώρω) τῷ μειζ(ο)τ(έρω) τοῦ ἐνδό(ξου) οἴκ(ου) Ἀπίωνος.

1 δεσπῶς 2 I. ζῆνυφα 3 I. καθωσιωμένου 4 I. καρταλαμίον; ἴνα; I. πέμψηται  
 5 I. ἀποδιδουτος 7 ἰχη 9 μεγαλῶ, εὐλογημῶ 10 I. οἴκου? 11 οἰκῶν (ou in monogram)  
 + αἰθεοφυλῶ δεσπῶ (vac.) θεοδωρωκομῶ μειζῶ, ἡμῶ 12 + αποδῆνοξενυρρ τῶ θεοδῶ τρω μειζῶ τῶ (ou in monogram)  
 ἐνδῶ οἴκ(α)πίωνος (vac.) δουλῶ ἀδελφῶ

'This I write as a third letter ... to my good and God-defended master, and of these (I sent) one by the stable lad who brought you the jujubes, and a second likewise with Appa Cyrus the soldier, and now this one, as I said, a third, on the subject of the sword-belt(?), so that you may send (it) me, and I shall put it ... So I beg you to send it to me by the man who delivers my poor letter to you, so that in this matter too I may acknowledge my thanks to you. In writing this I greatly worship and salute my master's footsteps until we meet; (and) especially (I greet) our common mistress. From me (greet) Faustus, our most magnificent common brother, and all the members of your blessed household, young and old, until we meet.'

## Address:

'To my own good and God-defended master Theodorus, *comes*, major domo, Christopher, your slave and brother.'

'Deliver in Oxyrhynchus to the good Theodorus, the major domo of the glorious household of Apion.'

1 The short unread word should be something like *nūn*, ἦδη, ἄρτι, but none of these seems thoroughly suitable, although the third trace is of a doubled descender which might be tau.

τ[φ] ἑμῶ ἀγαθῶ κ[α]θεοφυλάκτω δεσπό(τη). Cf. 11, P. Haun. III 52. 41. It might be more satisfactory if we could expand δεσπῶ to δεσπο(τεία) and so provide a definite antecedent for αὐτῆ (2, 6 bis) and a third person subject for πέμψητε (1. -ται; 4), but none of the compounds of ἀγαθός seems to be attested in this sort of expression, and φιλογάθω or πανταγάθω would have left substantial remains of the descenders of phi and lambda, or tau.

On θεοφυλάκτω see introd.

2 καὶ ἐξ ὧν is odd, even if καὶ is 'in fact' rather than 'and'; the reading is clear.

The cross above μίαν is slightly unexpected. However, numerals do often have some sort of distinguishing mark, which in administrative documents of this period is often overlining.

σταβλίτου. The stable 'boy' would probably have been an employee of the *cursus uelox*, see the analysis by J. Gascoiu, *Trauaux et Mémoires* 9 (1985) 53–9, according to which there were no private or domain postal services, but only the state system developed from the earlier form of the *cursus publicus*, still based on compulsory public service, but reflecting the strong influence of the new large landowners.

διδύφα. The dictionary form ζῆυφον has not yet occurred in the papyri. For confusion of delta and zeta, especially before iota and its phonetic equivalents, such as upsilon, see F. T. Gignac, *Grammar* 1 75–6. For διδυφ- see also P. Corn. Inv. II, 38 (=SB VIII 9907, from *Rech. Pap* 3 (1964) 32–5). 19–20 διδυφον ἀρτάβης τρίτον ξηρών (AD 388). More frequent is διζυφ-: P. Mich. inv. 3630 (=SB VI 9025, from *AJP* 65 (1944) 251–5 = H. C. Youtie, *Scriptumculae Posteriores* ii 667–671). 20 διζυφον μετέτρον ἐν (2nd cent.), VI 920 1 διζυφον (ἀρτάβη) α (2nd/3rd cent.), P. Gen. II 117. 6 διζυφα (3rd cent.). This form also occurs in AP IX 503. 1(?), 2.

On the jujube see Youtie, op. cit. 669 (253), citing A. Lucas, *Ancient Egyptian Materials and Industries* 390–1 (= 4 446), cf. L. Keimer, *Die Gartenpflanzen im alten Ägypten* i 64–70, 184, and for more literature S. Lauffer, *Diokletians Preisedikti* 231 (n. on 6. 56 *zizyforam* (gen. pl.), where the Greek is not preserved). Probably the papyri refer to fruit known in Pharaonic Egypt, produced by the tree *Zizyphus spina Christi*, so Youtie, quoting Lucas, loc. cit. On the other hand J. André, *L'alimentation et la cuisine à Rome* 80–81, writes of *Zizyphus vulgaris* Lmk = *Z. jujuba* Mill., and says that it is of Asiatic origin and that it was introduced to Italy from Syria by Sextus Papinius about AD 10, referring to Pliny, *NH* 15. 47, while the *Encyclopaedia Britannica* (1911 ed.), Vol. 15, 546 s.v. jujube, distinguishes *Z. vulgaris* (c. 20 feet, fruit like a plum, Japan to S. Europe), from *Z. jujuba* (30 to 50 feet, China, Malaya, tropical Africa, many varieties, fruit the size of a small fibert). It is noticeable that all the papyri mentioning jujubes are of the Roman period, but this need not be significant in view of the scarcity of the evidence. The *Z. spina Christi* is said to occur widely in modern Egypt, see Keimer 68, 117 (n. 33).

3 Ἄππα Κύρου τοῦ καθωσιωμένου (I. καθωσιωμένου). The title indicates that Appa Cyrus was a soldier or a civil servant of the *militia officialis*, see O. Hornickel, *Ehren- und Rangbrüder* 18. The ecclesiastical title ἀπ(π)α, 'father', is therefore part of his name, which is a common one in the papyri, making it clear that he was named in honour of a saint or martyr, rather than a Persian king, for example. Two saints called Cyrus, both monks or hermits, are listed by De Lacy O'Leary, *The Saints of Egypt* 119–120. One of them is still commemorated in the name of Abuqir, near ancient Canopus, because his remains with those of other martyrs were transferred there from the cathedral of Alexandria by St Cyril in the early fifth century, see H. Delehaye, 'Les saints d'Aboukir', *Analecta Bollandiana* 30 (1911) 448–50, cf. F. Cabrol, H. Leclercq, *Dictionnaire d'Archéologie Chrétienne et de Liturgie* III, 2 coll. 3216–20 s.v. Cyr et Jean (saints).

Note that ἄπα ἴων, the obscure eponym of many persons called ἄπα ἴων, has twice recently been attested as a saint by Greek papyri, see CPR IX 68. 3 ἐν ἡμέρ(α) τοῦ ἁγίου ἄπα ἴωνος (5th cent.?), with the editor's new reading of Stud. Pal. III 273 ii 2, which reveals a mention of a monastery named after the same patron (6th cent.), and P. Prag. I 91. 7–8 εὐλογία τοῦ ἁγίου ἄπα ἴωνος (6th cent.). Cf. J. Muysier, 'Notice sur l'identification d'Apia Sion', *Bull. Soc. Arch. Copte* 9 (1943) 79–92, LVIII 3938 12 n.

It is sometimes doubtful whether names beginning with the same three letters belong to the same category, see LV 3804 221 n. on Ἀπανάκιος/Ἄπα Νάκιος, P. Hamb. III 228. 13 n., on Ἀπασίριος/Ἄπα Σίριος.

4 καρδαλαμίον (I. καρτ-). A form καρδαλαμ- is unknown, but καρταλαμ- does occur and it seems likely that the voiced delta stands for unvoiced tau, see F. T. Gignac, *Grammar* i 80–83. The gloss καρταλάμιον *cartalama* (G. Goetz, *CGL* II 339. 17; -ia one ms) is unhelpful, because there is no trace of the word in Latin. Another, *haec fiscella* ο καρταλαμ (CGL II 553. 2), probably rests on confusion with κάρταλ(λ)ος, καρτάλλιον, 'basket', which is a frequent gloss for *fiscella*, see *CGL* VI 453 (index s.v.). The only promising clue to the nature of this item is in John Lydus, *de Magistratibus* ii 13 (ed. A. C. Bandy p. 104), on the insignia of the praetorian prefects. He describes an elaborate belt of crimson leather with a fancy buckle which girded the prefect's purple tunic and goes on, οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι ... βάλτεον τὸν ζωστήρα λέγουσιν, τὴν δὲ ἄλλη κατασκευὴν τοῦ περιζώματος οἱ Γάλλοι καρταλέραν, ἣν τὸ πλῆθος καρτάλαμον ἐξ ἰδιωτείας ὀνομάζει, 'the Romans call ... the belt *balleus*, but the Gauls call the entire girdle outfit *cartamera*, which the common people call *cartalamum* out of ignorance'. Du Cange, *Glossarium ... Mediae et Infimae Graecitatis*, s.v. καρταλάμιον, mentions the Latin gloss referred to above and then quotes a virtually incomprehensible passage of medieval Greek, which seems to record the form *χαρταλάμων* in a connected sense: Assiase MSS. Regni Hierosolymitani cap. 101 καὶ ζήτη τ(ου)? χανέρι τ(ου)? το λούρι του, καὶ ἐκείνος σπρέφι τοῦτο καὶ ὄρεται ἐγγίλι το λούρι του, κέθρος του, οὐ τὸ χαρταλάμων του τ(α)κιστήν, &c Ubi *on* significat *vel*. This seems to be about a belt, λούρι seemingly from Latin *lorus*, cf. Ducange s.v. *louré*.

It seems reasonable to suggest that καρδαλάμιον here is related to καρτάλαμον and that the word in different forms was used of other belts besides the specially distinctive one of the praetorian prefects. It may well have been confined to the belts of military or pseudo-military uniforms, but there is no other indication that Christopher was a soldier or civil servant.

4-5 In late Greek βάλλειν can mean 'wear', see Du Cange s.v. It may be that we should restore [πό]λ[ω] and translate, 'and I shall wear it in the city'. The lambda is virtually certain, but the restoration and the sense are no more than speculative.

5 ἀποδιδόντος. See F. T. Gignac, *Grammar* ii 383.

6 τὰ εὐτελή μου γράμματα. On the habitual expressions of humility in Byzantine letters see H. Zilliakus, *Untersuchungen zu den abstrakten Anredeformen* 77-9, esp. 79 on ἡ ἐμὴ εὐτέλεια (cf. P. Michael. 38. 12, VIII 1165 2, 8, XVI 1944 4, L. Dinncen, *Titles of Address in Christian Greek Epistolography* 78-80, 109), which is matched by similar expressions with ταστένωσις, μετρίότης, οὐθένεια, and comparable abstracts in Latin. For the adjective cf. e.g. VIII 2479 3-4 τοῖς διαφέρουσίν μοι εὐτελέσις πράγμασις, XXVII 2479 22 τὰ εὐτελή μου πράγματα, XVI 1872 6-7 τὰ ... ἀποσταλέντα παρ' ἐμοῦ εὐτελέστατα, P. Apoll. 36. 4, 52. 2 διὰ τοῦ εὐτελοῦ μου γράμματος. For the persistence of such expressions of humility into the late Byzantine period cf. H. Hunger, *Schreiben und Lesen in Byzanz* 93, with 83-84, where figg. 30-32 show the subscriptions of priests to a document of AD 1357, many of which take the form: ὁ εὐτελής ἱερέυς ... ὑπέγραψα, 'I, the humble priest ... subscribed'.

7 ἴχνη, cf. 4008 2. See H. Ljungvik, *Studien zur Sprache der apokryphen Apostelgeschichten* 86-8 on the progress of the meaning, 'footprint/sole of foot/foot', as well as the use of it in expressions of this kind in Byzantine letters; for similar Coptic expressions cf. A. Biedenkopf-Ziehner, *Untersuchungen zum koptischen Briefformular unter Berücksichtigung ägyptischer und griechischer Parallelen* 92, 100.

8 [ἔ]χρη θέας. Cf. 10, XVI 1860 15, P. Herm. 16. 6.

ἐξαιρέτως τὴν κοιν[ῆ] ἡ' ἴ' δέσποιναν. The language is very elliptical; we feel the need of καί or even καὶ ἀσπάζομαι before ἐξαιρέτως. Similarly in the next sentence we need to understand ἀσπάζου or some similar expression.

Since τοῦ ἐμοῦ δεσπότης just before means 'you', probably 'our common mistress' refers to the wife of Theodorus, although it could refer, for instance, to a lady of the family of his employer Apion.

In κοιν[ῆ] ἡ' ἴ' the first eta was written so hurriedly and incompletely that it seems to merge with the following nu. The second eta was added above the line for clarification.

9 On the decline of the honorific epithet μεγαλοπρεπέστατος, in Latin *magnificentissimus*, see O. Hornickel, *Ehren- und Rangprädikate* 28-9, cf. LVI 3870 4 n.

9-10 We need to understand an instruction to greet Faustus, who has not been identified elsewhere, exactly as in XVI 1940 4. For contexts containing the complete instruction cf. XVI 1837 15, 1872 8, 1875 9-10, 1933 11.

πάντας τοὺς <τοῦ> εὐλογημέ(νου) [ἔ]μῶν οἴκω (I. οἴκου). Cf. PSI XIII 1345. 14 τοῦ εὐλογημένου 'καὶ ἀφθόνου' ἡμῶν οἴκου.

10 ἀπὸ μικροῦ ἕως μεγάλου. Cf. 4005 10 n.

11 οἴκ(ε)ω. Cf. P. Haun. III 52. 41; XVI 1869 20. In P. Haun. there may perhaps have been a (καί) between ἀγαθ(ῶ) and θεοφιλάκτω, represented as here simply by the double curve symbol, cf. 1 above and XVI 1944 5-6 παρακαλῶ τὸν ἀγαθὸν καὶ θεοφιλάκτον δεσπότην.

Θεοδώρω κόμ(ε)τι μείζ(ο)τ(έρω). The name is so common that no attempt at identification is likely to be reliable, cf. LVI 3871 introd., but XVII 1857 and LVI 3871, also of the late sixth or early seventh century, are addressed to a homonym with the same titles; 3871 itself refers to another Theodorus τοῦ λαμπροτάτου μείζοτέρου (3). 1849-52, from a similar date range, cf. LVIII 3954 introd., 3957 8 n., are addressed to a Theodorus μείζοτερος, without κόμ(ε)ς; 1861 9 refers to Cynopolis and to Θεοδώρω τῷ μείζοτέρω τῷ ἐκεῖ. The Menas who sent 1857, see introd., is thought to be the same as the one who sent 1860 and is described there as δέσποινος of Cynopolis. Our letter is addressed specifically to Oxyrhynchus, but the very care with which the address is amplified, see 12 n., may suggest that our Theodorus was not normally to be found in Oxyrhynchus. The Theodorus μείζοτερος of XXVII 2480 3, 13, 16, who is probably the same as the one mentioned, but not named, in 6, 68, 102, travelled with *bucellarii* of Cynopolis and probably held his post there, but that account probably relates to AD 565/6, which is too early to be relevant to our letter. κόμ(ε)τι. Cf. LVI 3871 10 n. for this title in the late period.

μείζ(ο)τ(έρω). Cf. LVI 3871 3 n., LVIII 3960 25 n. Here line 12, μ. τοῦ ἐνδόξ(ου) οἴκ(ου), makes it clear that this is a household post, *maior domus*, 'major domo'. Another passage in which the proximity of μείζοτερος and τοῦ ἐνδόξου οἴκου positively proves the same is VI 943 3-4.

11-12 Χριστόφορος ὑμέ(τερος) δοῦλο(ς) (καὶ) ἀδελφ(ό)ς. The presence of ἀδελφ(ό)ς makes it doubly clear that δοῦλο(ς), as often in this period, see I. F. Fikhman, *Akten des XIII Internationalen Papyrologen-*

*kongresses* 119, cf. XLIII 3149 7 8 n., XXVII 2479 2 n., LVI 3870 4 n., is another expression of humility, cf. 6 n. There is no likelihood that Christopher was a slave.

12 + ἀπόδ(ο)ς ... Ἀπίωνος. This section of the address is in a smaller and less formal style. It could be by a second hand, but there is no very obvious difference in the colour of the ink or the thickness of the pen. In any case it is unusual to find anything so specific in such addresses; it may have been necessary because Oxyrhynchus was not the place where this Theodorus was usually to be found, cf. 11 n.

Ὁξυρρ(ύ)χ(ω)? There is no persuasive parallel for double rho in the name of Oxyrhynchus, although it would seem to be correct by Attic or Atticistic standards, so that the reading is at this point very doubtful, but the traces and the spacing seem to favour -ρρρ- over simple -ρρ-. The other point of doubt is the ending, but this is the period at which the bare name Ὁξύρρυχος began to be used of the city, cf. LVI 3860 9-10 n., 4002 22, and it seems unlikely that Ὁξυρρ(ύ)χ(ων πόλει) was really intended here.

μείζ(ο)τ(έρω) τοῦ ἐνδόξ(ου) οἴκ(ου). Cf. 11 n.

Ἀπίωνος. Probably Flavius Apion III, see introd.

H. G. IOANNIDOU

#### 4007. JULIUS TO CYRIACUS

4 1B.63/D(a)

30 × 14 cm

Sixth/seventh century

Cyriacus is described in the address as ἐπιτρο(ό)ψω and receives the honorific title and epithet of θαυμασιώτης (5, 6) and θαυμασιώτατος (14). It seems unlikely that he was the guardian of Julius, whose tone of command may allow that Cyriacus was his agent, *procurator*, but another possibility is that ἐπίτροπος is the title of some minor official or semi-official post, see 14 n. Reference is made to a *patricius*, who may well have been a great landowner, see 8 n., but it is not clear whether the transactions in grain and money that are mentioned are private or estate business. A large hole affecting lines 5-7 is particularly damaging to the run of the sense. Two παῖδες who are involved with the carriage of grain might well be estate servants or slaves, see 2 n.

The writer made use of a piece of papyrus which had already been used on both sides, washing off the previous ink not very effectively, although it has not been possible to read the earlier writing. Under the letter and seemingly upside down to it are the rather pale remains of a few lines of a large Byzantine cursive. On the back the address consists of only one line, but there are extensive washed out remains of cursive writing in at least two directions and some other traces which look more like pen trials than proper writing, cf. H. Harrauer, P. J. Sijpesteijn, *Neue Texte aus dem antiken Unterrichts* p. 25, Taf. 1. It seems clear that all this was washed over before the address was written.

In spite of the untidy state of the papyrus the letter is written in a well practised and not excessively careless sloping Byzantine cursive, probably of the late sixth or seventh century. It was written *transversa charta*, see 4005 introd., as is shown by a sheet-join, overlapping downwards, running horizontally very close to the bottom edge. For dispatch the letter was rolled up from the foot and squashed flat; then the exposed edge was tucked inside for protection and the address was written along the



panel next to that fold. A space was left at the middle of the address for a binding and when that was in place a simple design of three horizontal strokes was inked across it. The removal of the binding has removed the middles of the strokes.

(.)  
 + κατέλαβεν τὰ ἐνταῦθα ἄμμων ὁ παῖς φέρων εἰκοσιπέντε ἀρτάβας  
 ζίτου τῷ μέτρῳ τοῦ κυρίου Παμουθίου. μεταδέδωκεν δέ μοι ὡς ὅτι  
 τὰ δύο ὀλοκόττινα τὰ ἀντιφωνηθέντα μοι παρὰ τῆς σῆς  
 5 θαυμασιότητος ἀπαιτήθησαν εἰς τὴν κ[ . . . . . ] γ καὶ καλῶς ἐποίησέν σου  
 ἡ θαυμασιότης συχωρήσασα αὐτοὺς δ[ . . . . . ] και ἔχοντες πλεόν ὑπὲρ  
 πέρυσι τριάκοντα κεράτια . . . . [ . . . . . ], καὶ, θεὸς οἶδεν ὁ μόνος,  
 εἰ ἐγενάμην κατὰ τὸν πατρίκιον, οὐκ ἔδυνόμην προτέλεια(ν) τρ[ῖ]  
 10 ἑνὸς κερατίου δοῦναι. εἶπε δὲ Ἀπολλῶ τῷ παιδί ὅτι, 'τὸ ὑπόλοιπ[ον]  
 τῆς κριθῆς πέμψον μοι', ἐπεὶ, θεὸς οἶδεν ὁ πάντων δεσπότης,  
 ἐὰν συμβῆ ἢ ἐλθεῖν, τετραπλά αὐτὸν ἀπαιτῶ. καὶ λοιπὸν μετὰ καλοῦ  
 δὸς ἢ τὸ ἴσον τοῦ λόγου τοῦ ζίτου πέμψον μοι ἵνα μανθάνω γράψω σοι  
 δοῦναι Θεοδώρω καὶ ᾧτινι . . . . . +

Back, along the fibres:

+ ἐπιδ(ος) τῷ τὰ πά(ντα) θαυμασι(ωτάτω) Κυριακῶ (design) ἐπιτρ(όπῳ) (vac.) π(αρά) Ἰουλίῳ. +

3 ὡς: ε corr. 4 ὀλοκοτ' τινα 5 l. ἀπητήθησαν; τῆν: ἡ corr. 6 l. ἔχοντα 12 ἵνα  
 14 ἐπιδ(ος) τῷ τὰ θαυμασι(ωτάτω) π(αρά) Ἰουλίῳ (vac.) π'

'Ammon the "boy" arrived in these parts bringing twenty-five artabas of wheat by the measure of the lord Pamuthius, and he informed me that the two gold *solidi* which were guaranteed me by your Excellency were exacted for the . . . , and your Excellency did well to permit that they should . . . for they have a surplus in respect of last year of thirty carats . . . , and—the One God knows—if I had gone to the *patricius*, I could not have given an advance of even the one carat! Say to Apollon the "boy", "Send me the remainder of the barley", since,—God, who is master of all things, knows—if it turns out that I come, I will exact four times the amount from him! And furthermore make delivery properly or send me the duplicate of the account of the grain(?), so that when I have the information I may write to you to make delivery to Theodorus and to whomsoever . . .'

Address:

'Deliver to the most excellent in all respects Cyriacus, warden(?), from Julius.'

1 (.) . This is the mysterious sign often transcribed as π(αρά), which is frequently found at the head of late Byzantine letters in this format, see LVI 3867 1 n. In this case the writer began his letter proper a little too high and therefore wrote straight through the sign, so that it interferes with the reading of *παῖς*. It seems clear from the character of the ink that it belongs to the letter and not to the earlier writing which was washed out, see introd.

2 κατέλαβεν τὰ ἐνταῦθα. Cf. LI 3637 2 n.

ἄμμων ὁ παῖς. Cf. 9 Ἀπολλῶ τῷ παιδί, P. Hamb. III 228. 11 Πέτρος καὶ Μηναὶ οἱ παῖδες; 229. 2 Πέτρος ὁ παῖς. It is doubtful whether these 'boys' were free men or slaves, since there is a perennial problem about the meaning and associations of the words *παῖς*, *παιδίον*, *παιδάριον*. These two, to judge from their names,

could perhaps fall into the category of the *παιδάρια Αἰγύπτια* on the Apion estates, on whom see LVIII 3960 28 n. It was tentatively suggested there that those were slaves, because of an implication in the preceding entry in the account, which by referring to *παρομοιῶριοι ἐλευθέροι* suggests that there were slaves of the Apion household from whom the free contracted servants had to be distinguished in the context of that account.

3 ζίτου. By this late date *ζίτος* usually means 'wheat', rather than 'grain' in general, see especially H. Cadell, *Akten d. XIII Internationalen Papyrologenkongresses* 61–8, esp. 64–5, and some specific meaning is probably needed here. A doubt arises below in 12, where the request for a copy of the account of *ζίτος* seems to be associated with the demand in 9–10 for the delivery of a quantity of barley. Unless appearances are misleading, in that passage *ζίτος* does have its earlier and more general meaning.

τῷ μέτρῳ τοῦ κυρίου Παμουθίου. Various men called 'lord' Pamuthius appear, for instance, in I 128 1 (VI/VII), 142 3 (AD 534), cf. 143 1 (AD 535), XVI 1842 6 (VI), 1871 8 (V), but the name is so common that no reliable identification can be made. For private measures cf. D. Hennig, *Untersuchungen zur Bodenpacht* 13–21.

ὡς ὅτι. Cf. F. Blass, A. Debrunner, F. Rehkopf, *Grammatik des neutestamentlichen Griechisch* 15 326 (§396 Anm. 6).

4 ἀντιφωνηθέντα, 'guaranteed'. Strictly speaking this is a term of Byzantine law. A glossary, G. Goetz, *CGI II* 230. 56–7, gives ἀντιφωνῶν *constituo*, ἀντιφωνήσας *pecunia constituta*, cf. M. *Gdz.* 269, A. Berger, *Encyclopedic Dictionary of Roman Law* s.vv. *constitutum debiti alieni*, *receptum argentarii*, J. G. Keenan, *ZPE* 29 (1978) 198; one Latin version of the title of Justinian, *Novella 4* gives *constitutae pecuniae reos* in place of the Greek ἀντιφωνηθέντων, which occurs in I 136 (= W. Chr. 383). 39 in a waiver of this *Novella*. The phrasing here should mean that the two *solidi* were owed by the writer, but that the recipient had undertaken to pay the debt as guarantor and that the money had been demanded and paid. It is unfortunate that the damage in line 5 seems to have removed the word or words which would have explained the transfer of the money, and that the next two lines, which may well be continuing on the same subject, are equally seriously damaged.

4–5 τῆς σῆς θαυμασιότητος, cf. 5–6 σου ἡ θαυμασιότης, 14 τῷ τὰ πά(ντα) θαυμασι(ωτάτω). Cf. LVI 3869 14: the title and epithet are usually associated with some fairly modest official rank, cf. 14 n.

7 After κεράτια it might be just possible to read and restore δημ[ο]κ[α]τῶ [συ]γ[ρ]ῶ, 'by the public standard', cf. LV 3805 7–8 n., although the transition from eta to mu is not easy to accept and the space might be a little too long.

θεὸς οἶδεν ὁ μόνος is a rare turn of phrase, cf. BGU IV 1035. 12, P. Hamb. III 228. 8 and n, 229. 8.

8 ἐγενάμην. Cf. 3988 4 n.

πατρίκιον. The participle indicated very high rank and was probably still conferred by imperial grant at this period, cf. LVIII 3939 4–5 n., para. 3. This person is likely to have been one of the great landlords of Egypt and may well have been the patron and employer of both the correspondents. The Apion family spring to mind, although the late patrician John, for instance, of PSI I 76. 2, cf. J. G. Keenan, *ZPE* 29 (1978) 193, was a landlord in the Oxyrhynchus area contemporaneously with the Apions and not yet obviously connected with them.

οὐκ ἔδυνόμην. For omission of *ἄν* in the apodosis of an unreal past conditional sentence cf. F. Blass, A. Debrunner, F. Rehkopf, *Grammatik des neutestamentlichen Griechisch* 15 290–1 (§360 and Anm. 2).

On the thematic form see B. G. Mandilaras, *The Verb* 75 n. 2. Here *ἔδυνόμην* is perfectly clear and so provides a little more support for so reading the very damaged word in XVI 1854 6.

προτέλεια(ν). On the omission of final nasals see F. T. Gignac, *Grammar* I 111–114.

This passage does nothing to help us out of difficulty over the meaning of *προτέλεια*, on which see CPR V 25. 9 n.; add new references CPR VI 6. 15, IX 34. 5. According to A. C. Johnson, L. C. West, *Byzantine Egypt: Economic Studies* 273, 315, it may sometimes be connected with tax payments in advance. A basic meaning of advance payment is discernible, but it is not clear how *προτέλεια* might differ from *πρόχρεια*, on which see LVIII 3943 9 n.

9 παιδί. Cf. 2 n.

10 It looks as if *μοι* refers illogically to the sender, although in this passage of direct speech it should strictly refer to the recipient.

θεὸς οἶδεν ὁ πάντων δεσπότης. Cf. SB VI 9107. 3 ὁ θεὸς ὁ πάντων δεσπότης φυλάξοι (= -ξη) . . . , possibly also 8986. 13 τῷ πάντων δεσπότῳ κυμπράξαντας (sic: l. -τος?) [ .

11 μετὰ καλοῦ. Cf. P. Berl. Zill. 14. 17, P. Ross-Georg. V 11<sup>3</sup> 5, P. Köln V 240. 7, XVI 1855 16 and n., on the naturalization of the phrase in Coptic, e.g. W. E. Crum, *Koptische Rechtsurkunden* 66. 32, 67. 46, 76. 29 (references kindly supplied by Dr Mark Smith.)

12 εἶτον. Cf. 3 n.

13 After ᾠτιμι we expect something like θλεῖ, or θλεῖς, or βούλει or αἰρή, but nothing that has been thought of will fit the traces, although it is probable that a good guess could be verified.

14 ἐπιτρο(σ)φι. It does not look likely that Cyriacus was the guardian of Julius, although it is not quite out of the question. Judging by the tone of command Cyriacus could have been the agent, *procurator*, of Julius, but it may be that he was in charge of some particular institution, cf. the ἐπίτροπος τοῦ ξενοδοχ(ε)ίου, 'warden of the hostel', in XVI 2058 131. The use of ἐπίτροπος/*procurator* as the title of a high Roman official probably does not last beyond the fifth century, e.g. XVI 1973 5 ἐπιτρόφω τῆς θεοστῆτης οἰκίας, AD 420.

H. G. IOANNIDOU

#### 4008. TO JOHN, VICE-DOMINUS

63 6B.64/E(1-2)a

33 × 11 cm

Sixth/seventh century

This letter was intended to accompany a fish, which was to be delivered, probably as a gift, to a great landowner's representative on his Oxyrhynchite estates, an ἀντιγεούχος. It was written on behalf of some estate servants described as παιδάρια, a term of debated meaning which may imply that they were slaves, see 4007 2 n.

The writer's sloping cursive has a professional look, but his spelling is phonetic, e.g. πρωτων for πρώτων (2), δίποτε for τίποτε (5). The masculine article instead of the feminine in κατὰ τὸν ὄψιν (5) looks like an oversight and so does the double accusative after προσκνυομεν (for προσκνυόμεν 2). The mixture of respectable appearance and low level of literacy is what we might expect on the working fringes of high society.

The earliest datable ἀντιγεούχος is probably the unnamed one mentioned repeatedly in XXVII 2480 48, 51-3, 55, 57, 59, probably of AD 566, and the term appears in a Coptic papyrus of the Arab period from Aphrodito, P. Lond. IV 1529. 7. A date in the late sixth or early seventh century would be suitable for this document.

The letter is written *transversa charta*, see 4005 introd. para. 3, as is shown by a sheet-join, overlapping downwards, running horizontally very close to the lower edge. For despatch the letter was rolled up from the foot, the exposed edge was tucked inside for protection, and the address was written along the panel nearest that last fold. A gap was left at the middle of the address for a binding, over which a design was inked once it was in place. Traces of the design survive now that the binding has disappeared.

+ χμγ

+ πρώτων μὲν πολλὰ προσκνυομεν τὰ ἔχνη τὸν ἡμῶν ἀγαθῶν δεσπότην.  
 παρακαλοῦμεν ἡμᾶς, δέσποτα, κελεύσατε δέξασθαι τὸ μικρὸν  
 ζιμάριον εἰς λόγον τῶν παιδαρίων ἡμῶν. οἶδαμεν γάρ, δέσποτα,  
 5 ὅτι οὐκ εὕρισκομεν δίποτε κατὰ τὸν ὄψιν ἡμῶν, + δέσποτα. +

Back, along the fibres:

+ τῶ ἡμῶν ἀγα[θ(ῶ)?] δεσπότη(η) κυρ(ίω) Ἰωάννη (design) Ἰλλουστρ(ίω) (καὶ) ἀντιγεούχ... π...  
 7 (vac.) ... [. ]... ἡμετερ(.). +

2 I. πρώτων, προσκνυόμεν; ἔχνη; I. τοῦ ἡμῶν ἀγαθοῦ δεσπότη 3 ἡμας: corr. (from ἡμῶν?)

4 I. ζιμάριον; ἡμῶν 5 I. τίποτε, τῆν; ἡμῶν 6 ἀγαθῶν?, δεσποτίζουρς, Ἰλλουστρ[ις] 7 ἡμετερ[ις]?

'Firstly we kiss the feet of our good lord. We beg you, lord, give orders to accept the little *samarium* (a fish) to the credit of your "boys". For we know, lord, that we cannot find anything worthy of your dignity, lord.'

Address:

'To our good master, lord John, *uir illustris* and representative of the landlord, ... your ...'

1 χμγ. After a voluminous amount of commentary this common Christian symbol remains without an entirely satisfactory explanation, cf. LVI 3862 1 n.

2 προσκνυομεν (I. -οῦμεν). Since the writer spells παρακαλοῦμεν (3) correctly, it is perhaps more likely that the upsilon is omitted accidentally than that omicron was pronounced indistinguishably from ου, although similar spellings are known elsewhere, see F. T. Gignac, *Grammar* i 211-12.

ἔχνη. Cf. 4006 7 n. He probably intended to write προσκνυόμεν τὰ ἔχνη τοῦ ἡμῶν ἀγαθοῦ δεσπότη, but he forgot τὰ ἔχνη and proceeded, as if he had not mentioned them, with τὸν ἡμῶν ἀγαθῶν (I. -θῶν) δεσπότην in the accusative. In a more pretentious writer we might have accepted τὰ ἔχνη as 'accusative of respect', but that seems less likely in this badly spelled letter.

3 ἡμας, κελεύσατε, cf. ὄψιν 4, 5. For the use of the *pluralis reverentiae* in private letters on papyrus see H. Zilliaccus, *Selbstgefühl und Servilität, Studien zum unregelmässigen Numerusgebrauch im Griechischen* 71-8.

3-4 τὸ μικρὸν ζιμάριον (= -άριον). Cf. XVI 1857 1, where ζιμάριον recurs along with the Nile fish ἀλάβης, and is presumably a diminutive form, cf. L. R. Palmer, *A Grammar of the Post-Ptolemaic Papyri* 88, referring to the Nile fish *cimac* listed by Athenaeus, *Deipnosoph.*, VII 88 (= 312a), cf. D'Arcy W. Thompson, *JEA* 14 (1928) 32. Oppian, *Hal.*, I 170, mentions *cimac* among Mediterranean fish which inhabit both rocky and sandy areas and Artemidorus, *Onirocr.* ii 14 (ed. Teubn. p. 132. 10), describes these as a kind of tunny and says that they had no scales. Xenocrates, *περὶ τῆς ἀπὸ τῶν ἐνὸδρων τροφῆς* XXXVI (J. L. Ideler, *Physici et Medici Graeci* i p. 133), mentions them: τῶν δὲ ποταμίων καὶ λιμναίων ταρίων φέρεται μὲν ὁ Νεῖλος κηράδες *cimac* τε καὶ φάγρου. The name is taken to be from the Greek adjective *cimac*, 'snub-nosed'. The meaning of κηράδης is not clear; it could mean just that they were big, or it could denote some resemblance to whales, or perhaps dolphins, which are also described as *cimac*, cf. D'Arcy W. Thompson, *A Glossary of Greek Fishes* 53, where it is pointed out that in this case 'pug-nosed' is meant rather than 'snub-nosed'.

The variously shaped snouts of very many fish could be described as *cimac*, but it may be that *cimac* and ζιμάριον were deliberately chosen with particular reference to the δέξιδ(ρ)ιγχοσ, 'the sharp-snouted fish', a name which probably covers both *Mormyrus caschive* and *M. kannume*, see G. A. Boulenger, *Zoology of Egypt: The Fishes of the Nile* i 68, cf. ii Pl. XII, and it may be, therefore, that they refer to another of the mormyrs. Members of the Mormyridae family have snouts in a startling variety of shapes; some could very well be described as flat-nosed. The best contrast is perhaps provided by *Hyperopisus bebe*, as is shown vividly by the small diagrams of oxyrhynchus and *H. bebe* juxtaposed in I. Gamer-Wallert, *Fische und Fischkulte im alten Ägypten* 29, Abb. 5, 6. A detailed scientific account and the best illustration of *H. bebe* are given by Boulenger, op. cit. i 70-73, ii Pl. V. 2. Douglas J. Brewer and Renée F. Friedman, *Fish and Fishing in Ancient Egypt* 53, provide a shorter account with two photographs of fish represented in relief from the Tomb of Mereruka (Saqqara, Dynasty VI), which they tentatively identify as *H. bebe*.

It is clear from the two letters that the ζιμάριον was regarded as being specially good to eat: in 1857 one was part of a consignment of fish sent for the feast of Epiphany (τῆν [ἡ]γῆγνυ τῶν θεοφανίων 4-5); here it is a present to the ἀντιγεούχος, the most important local representative of a magnate who owned an estate, cf. 6 n. According to Boulenger on *H. bebe*, op. cit. i 73, 'The flesh is, like that of other Mormyrs,

much esteemed in Senegambia; but this does not appear to be the case in Egypt at present, although Sonnini, the first describer of this species, at the close of the 18th century, found it firm and delicate'.

It may be reasonably suspected that this one was not all that small; one *εμάριον* plus five *ἀλάβητες* weighed seventy Roman pounds, c. 22.5 kilos, in 1857 1-2, an average of 3.75 kilos per fish. The humble protestations about the inadequacy of its size and about its unworthiness as a gift to the distinguished recipient are required by the conventions of the Byzantine epistolary style.

4 *παιδάριον*. Cf. 4007 2 n., on the doubt about the free or servile status of people described as *παῖς* or *παιδάριον*.

οἰδαμεν. Cf. F. T. Gignac, *Grammar* ii 410-11.

5 *δίποτε* (I. *τίποτε*). Cf. LVI 3870 5 and n., on the same form.

For *τίποτε*, 'anything', see F. Blass, A. Debrunner, F. Rehkopf, *Grammatik des neutestamentlichen Griechisch* 251 (§393).

6 *ἴσων*. Cf. F. Preisigke, *Wörterbuch* s.v. *ἴσως* (5) for the meaning 'position, dignity'.

7 *Ἰωάννη*. No *ἀντιγεούχος* of this name is known. A photograph shows that *Ζαριμάτη ἀντιγε(ούχος)* of XVI 1861 11 does not conceal him, and the reading there remains not improbable. In XXIV 2420 5-6 instead of *διὰ Ῥουφ[* read *διὰ σοῦ Φιλ(αουίου)* name, plus e.g. *τοῦ ἐνδοξοτάτου* (cf. LVI 3871 6 n.) ] *ἀντιγεούχου*; the person may have been Flavius Victor, cf. LVIII 3957 8 n.

8 *Ἰλλουστ(ρω)*. On the origin and early history of the honorific adjective *illustris* see A. H. M. Jones, *The Later Roman Empire* i 528-30, 535-6. On its development and use in the papyri as an substantival title, as here, see O. Hornickel, *Ehrens- und Rangprädikate* 17, cf. 9 citing XVI 1859 8, 1860 6 for the combination *Ἰλλούστριος καὶ ἀντιγεούχος*.

9 *ἀντιγεούχ*. This looks more like the foot of the double curve abbreviation sign than like an omega, i.e. read probably *ἀντιγεούχ(ω)*. On the post see E. R. Hardy, *The Large Estates* 85-6, A. H. M. Jones, *The Later Roman Empire* ii 789-90. It is the highest executive office in the hierarchy of estate administration, cf. LVI 3871 6 n.

6-7 We might expect *παιδάρια*, cf. 4, among the traces in the worst damaged area, but they have not been found.

7 *ἕμετερο(ι)* or *-(ων)* appears, unusually, to be the last word: sc. *δοῦλοι* (*δοῦλων*)? Cf. XVI 1936 18.

H. G. IOANNIDOU

## INDEXES

Figures in small raised type refer to fragments, small roman numerals to columns. Square brackets indicate that a word is wholly or substantially restored by conjecture or from other sources, round brackets that it is expanded from an abbreviation or a symbol. An asterisk denotes a word not recorded in *LSJ* or Suppl. The article is not indexed.

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 δαΐφρων [3965<sup>1</sup> 19(15)?]  
 δαμάζειν [3965<sup>1</sup> 3] 3965<sup>2</sup> 22(39)  
 Δαναός 3965<sup>1</sup> 10(6)  
 δέ 3964 14<sup>2</sup> 3965 [1 9(5)?]; <sup>2</sup> 18(35); <sup>26</sup> 5; <sup>26</sup> 13<sup>2</sup>  
 δεικνύναι 3965<sup>1</sup> 12(8)  
 Δημήτηρ 3965<sup>19</sup> ii 1<sup>2</sup>  
 δηρός 3965<sup>19</sup> ii 5  
 διέπειν 3965<sup>12</sup> 6<sup>2</sup>  
 δίκη 3965<sup>1</sup> 8(4)  
 Διάνυκος 3965<sup>6</sup> 5<sup>2</sup>  
 δόμος 3963 7  
 δύο 3965<sup>25</sup> 5

εγά 3965<sup>1</sup> 16(12); 17(13); <sup>21</sup> 3<sup>2</sup>  
 εἶδος 3965<sup>27</sup> 8  
 εἰ 3965<sup>21</sup> 11?  
 εἰδέναι 3965<sup>26</sup> 9  
 εἶναι 3964 1<sup>2</sup> 3965<sup>26</sup> 8; [10]  
 εἰνάλιος 3965<sup>1</sup> 16(12)?  
 εἶπερ [3965<sup>2</sup> 1(18)]  
 ἔκρητι 3965<sup>1</sup> 11(7)  
 ἐκφρεύειν 3965<sup>26</sup> 14  
 Ἐλένη [3964 2]

πρός **3966** 10 bis; 14; 15 **3967** 1 393<sup>2</sup>  
 προσδίκμιος [3971 7<sup>2</sup>]  
 πρόσθεν **3967** 1 393<sup>2</sup>  
 προσποιείν **3967** 1 404  
 προστιθέναι **3970** 11  
 πώς **3967** 1 403

βωνήναι **3969** 1 11 (ἐρωμένος) [3971 3<sup>2</sup>]

εαυτού [3967 1 395]  
 Cμίκη **3967** 1 387  
 CμικρήC **3969** 1 8; 11  
 επάθη **3967** 2 410<sup>2</sup>  
 ετρέφειν **3968** 1 10; 11?  
 εύ **3967** 1 391; [393<sup>2</sup>]; 396; 2 401  
 ευ(-?) **3967** 1 386  
 Cωσίας **3968** 1 1; 20  
 Cωτηρία [3967 1 396<sup>2</sup>]

τάλας [3966 14] [3967 1 394<sup>2</sup>] **3968** 1 7 **3971** 4  
 τε **3967** 1 389  
 τέταρτος [3972 12]  
 τιμωρείν [3967 1 402]  
 τις, τι **3966** 10 **3967** 397  
 τίς, τί **3967** 1 388; 396; 2 410<sup>2</sup> **3968** 1 3; 11 3 **3970**  
 13 **3972** 7  
 τοί **3972** 10

### III. RULERS AND REGNAL YEARS

#### MARCUS AND VERUS

Αντωνίνος και Οδῆρος οί κύριοι Αὐτοκράτορες (year 6)  
**3974** 15-16  
 Αὐτοκράτωρ Καίσαρ Μάρκος Αἰρήλιος Αντωνίνος και  
 Αὐτοκράτωρ Καίσαρ [ (oath formula) ] **[3975**  
 11-13]

#### GORDIAN III

Μάρκος Αντωνίνος Γορδιανός Καίσαρ ὁ κύριος (oath  
 formula of year 6) **3976** 7-8

#### DECIUS

Αὐτοκράτωρ Καίσαρ Γάιος Μέσσιος Κουῆτος Τραιανός  
 Δέκιος [ (year 1) ] **3978** 19-21

ταύων **3969** 1 11  
 τρέφειν **3968** 1 10; 11?  
 τρικέλλιος **3967** 2 413  
 τρόπος **3970** 8  
 τυγχάνειν [3967 2 409]  
 τυφλός **3968** 1 2

ύδροφορείν **3966** 15  
 ύπερ [3967 1 388]  
 ύπο (-) **3968** 11 13<sup>2</sup>

φάναι [3967 1 388]  
 Φανίας **3968** 1 12  
 φάρμακον **3967** 2 416  
 φέρειν **3966** 9  
 φίλτατος **3970** 16  
 φράζειν **3967** 1 385

χαίρειν **3970** 16  
 χορός **3966** 5 [3967 2 413/414]

ψέγειν **3967** 1 390

ὦ **3968** 1 16 **3971** 4  
 ὡς **3967** 1 395  
 ὡCπερ **3968** 1 2

#### GALLIENUS

ὁ κύριος ἡμῶν Γαλλινός Cεβαστός (year 14) **3979**  
 20-21

#### GALERIUS

No titulature (year 20 = 311/12; posthumous) **3982**  
 10-11

#### CONSTANTINE AND LICINIUS

No titulature (year 7, 5 = 312/13) **3982** 12

### IV. CONSULS

AD 312 ύπατείας τῶν δεσποτῶν ἡμῶν Κωνσταντῖνου  
 και Λικινῖου Cεβαστῶν τὸ β' **3981** 21-22  
 AD 314 ύπατείας Ρουφίου Οὐδολουσιανοῦ και Πετρω-  
 νίου Ανιανοῦ τῶν λαμπροτάτων **3982** 16-17 **3983**  
 1 (ύπατεία κτλ), 12, 16  
 AD 340 ύπατείας Cεπτιμίου Ανκινδῶνου τ[ὸ  
 λαμ(προτάτου)] ἐπάρχου τοῦ ἱεροῦ πραιτωρίου και  
 Ποπου[λωνίου] Πρόκλου τοῦ λαμ(προτάτου) **3984**  
 1-3

AD 473 μετὰ τὴν ύπατείαν Φλαουῖου Μαρκιανοῦ τοῦ  
 λαμπροτάτου και τοῦ δηλωθῆσομένου **3985** 1  
 AD 494 μετὰ τὴν ύπατείαν Φλαουῖου Εἰκεβίου τοῦ  
 λαμπροτάτου τὸ β' **3986** 2-4  
 AD 532<sup>2</sup> ύπατείας Φλαουῶν Ὀρέστου και Αἰθρηοῦ  
 τῶν λαμ(προτάτων) [3987 1]

### V. INDICTIONS

11th., ἀρχῆ 12th. (472/3) **3985** 1  
 12th. (473/4) **3985** 7, 10  
 13th. (474/5) **3985** 7, 10

2nd. (493/4) **3986** 5  
 10th. (531/2<sup>2</sup>) **3987** 1  
 11th. (532/3<sup>2</sup>) **3987** 8, 12

### VI. MONTHS

Ὠῶθ **3979** 21<sup>2</sup>

Φαμενῶθ [3979 21<sup>2</sup>] **3981** 22 **3983** 17 **3986** 4  
**3987** 1 [3989 17] **3998** 8

Παχῶν (**3982** 17) **3983** 1, 12 **3985** 1 **3992** 21

Φαρμοῦθι **3999** 10, 28

Τῦβι **3991** 30

### VII. DATES

26 September 266 (or 25 March 267?) **3979** 20-21  
 26 February-26 March 312 **3981** 21-2  
 26 March 314 **3983** 16-17  
 5 May 314 **3982** 16-17

7 May 314 **3983** 1, 12  
 9 May 473 **3985** 1  
 8 March 494 **3986** 2-4  
 21 March 532<sup>2</sup> **3987** 1

### VIII. PERSONAL NAMES

Αἰθρηός see Index IV s.v. AD 532<sup>2</sup>

Αἰθρηός **4005** 8

Αγαθος: Aur. Agathus **3982** 19-20

Αθανάσιος **4003** 1

Αθανάσιος, βοηθός **4002** 10

Αἴλιος Θεών **3992** 1, 34

Ακινδῶνος see Index IV s.v. AD 340

Αλέξ, w. of Calocaerus **3994** 5

Αλέξανδρος: Aur. Alexander, decaprotus **3980** 3

Αλέξανδρος: Aur. Alexander, former hypomnemato-  
 graphus, strategus of the Oxyrhynchite [3980 1]

Αλέξανδρος, ὀθονακός **3979** 16-17

Αμάτοκος, f. of Aur. Psenamunis comarch of Phobou

**3982** 3 **3983** 3

Αμμων, παῖς **4007** 2

Αμμωνιανός **4000** 1

Αμμώνιος [3997 28]

Αμμώνιος: Aur. Ammonius alias Apollonius, strat-  
 egus of the Oxyrhynchite **3976** 1, 10<sup>2</sup> **3977** 1-2

Αμμωνός, m. of Copres **3997** 38, 39<sup>2</sup>

Αννιανός see Index IV s.v. AD 314

- Ζηνοβλάν, f. of Flavius Sereus *primitivus quaestimatorum* **3986** 7  
 Ζηνοφίος: Aur. Anuphius *nomiarius*, s. of Theodoros, gd.-s. of Megas alias Didymus **3985** 3, 6  
 Ζηνοφίος *see* Index III s.v. Marcus and Verus  
 Ζηνοφίος **3976** 7 *see also* Index III s.v. Gordian III  
 Ζηναί **3988** 11  
 Ζηναί **3990** 2  
 Ζηναίον **4000** 2  
 Ζηναίον: Flavius Apion III **4006** 12  
 Ζηνοδώριος: Domitius Apollinarius, strategus of the Athribite **3973** 4-5, 6  
 Ζηνολλανία **3989** 14  
 Ζηνολλάνιος **3988** 31  
 Ζηνολλάνιος: Aurelius Ammonius alias Apollonius, strategus of the Oxyrhynchite **3976** 1, 10? **3977** 1-2  
 Ζηνολλός, παῖς **4007** 9  
 Ζηπτα Κύρος, καθωσιωμένος **4006** 3  
 Ζηφίος **3993** 22, 49  
 Ζηφίτων, ἐπιμελητής **3982** 10  
 Ζηρμάσις: Aur. Harmasis s. of Tithoes, priest **3981** 2, 23  
 Ζηρπάσις: Aur. Harpasis s. of Pathatres, comarch of Phobou **3982** 2, 18 **3983** 3  
 Ζηροκρατίανα **3996** 10  
 Ζηρούς: Aur. Hatreus s. of Panotbeus, comarch of Posompröys **3983** 8  
 Ζηρής: Aur. Hatres **3984** 5  
 Ζηρήλιος [3975 12] **3976** 1, 2, 10, 11 **3977** 1, 4 **3978** 1, 3 **3980** 1, 3 **3981** 2, 23, 24 **3982** 1, 2, 5, 18, 19, 22, 23 **3983** 2, 3, 6 (*bis*), 7, 8, 11 **3984** 4, 5 **3985** 3, 17 **3986** 14 **3987** 10, 14  
 Ζηρήλιος *see also* Άγαθος, Άλέξανδρος, Άμμώνιος, Άνούφιος, Άπολλάνιος, Άρμάσις, Άρπαήσις, Άτρεύς, Άτρής, Άφθόνιος, Γερμανός, Δημήτριος, Διονυσάριος, Ήρακλείδης, Ήρων, Θεόδωρος, Θέων, Ίσάκ, Ίωάννης, Μονάτιος, Νεχθεράεις, Πεκίσις, Πρώταρχος, Σαραπίων, Σερήνος, Στρατόνικος, Σύρος, Ψεναμοῦσις, Ψεντασεύς, Ψρος  
 Ζηρήλιος *see also* Index III s.v.v. Antoninus and Verus  
 Ζηφθόνιος: Aur. Aphthonius, δημοσίων χρημάτων πραεζίτης **3982** 5  
 Ζηφούς **3997** 39 **3999** 1, 30  
 Ζησαρίων **3988** 1, 21  
 Ζησάς **3973** 11 (margin)  
 Ζάιος **3978** 20 *see also* Index III s.v. Decius  
 Ζαλλινός **3979** 20-21 *see also* Index III s.v. Gallienus  
 Ζερμανός: Aur. Germanus s. of Johannes **3985** 17  
 Ζορδιανός **3976** 7 *see also* Index III s.v. Gordian III

Γρατιανός **4004** 5

- Δέκιος [3978 21] *see also* Index III s.v. Decius  
 Δημήτριος **3991** 22 **3998** 33  
 Δημήτριος: Aur. Demetrius s. of Theon **3978** 6  
 Δημήτριος: f. of M. Aur. Theon, h. of Dionysia alias Thaeasis **3976** 3  
 Διδύμος **3999** 6, 10, 17 **4003** 2 **4004** 16  
 Διδύμος: Megas alias Didymus, gd.-f. of Aur. Anuphius *nomiarius*, f. of Aur. Theodoros *nomiarius* **3985** 4 **3986** 15-16  
 Διογής **3992** 22, 31  
 Διογένης, *scholasticus* **4002** 2, 23  
 Διόδωρος **3988** 12  
 Διονυσάριος: Aur. Dionysarius, strategus of the Oxyrhynchite nome **3984** 4  
 Διονυσία **3992** 5 **4002** 19  
 Διονυσία: Dionysia alias Thaeasis, m. of M. Aur. Theon, w. of Demetrius **3976** 3-4  
 Διονύσιος: Heras alias Dionysius, strategus of the Saite nome **3973** 2, 6-7  
 Διονύσιος, νομογράφος **3992** 24  
 Διονύσιος, royal scribe, acting strategus of the Oxyrhynchite **3974** 1 **3975** 1  
 Διοσκοράς [3994 17?]  
 Διόσκορος **3993** 42 **3999** 5  
 Διόσκορος, f. of Pansophium (**3984** 7)  
 Δομίτιος: Domitius Apollinarius, strategus of the Athribite **3973** 4-5, 6  
 Έλένη **3997** 39, 40  
 Έλένη, embroidress **4001** 19  
 Έορτάσιος **4003** 33  
 Έπαφρόδιτος **3991** 21-22  
 Έρμίνος **3992** 1, 34  
 Ένδαίμων, doctor **4001** 2, 37  
 Ένθήσιος: Valerius Euthisius, *rationalis* **3980** 7  
 Έυλόγιος **3998** 31 (ευλογίος pap.)  
 Έυμάθιος **4002** 1, 22  
 Έυσέβιος *see* Index IV s.v. AD 494  
 Έυφροσύνη **3994** 1, 16  
 Ήρακλέμμων **3999** 1, 7, 29 **4001** 8  
 Ήρακλείδης **3991** 23  
 Ήρακλείδης: Aur. Heracleides s. of Cephalon **3979** 5  
 Ήρακλείδης, f. of Clemens, s. of Clemens, h. of Taharthonis **3975** 4  
 Ήρακλείδης, village scribe of Therythis (Saite) **3973** 3  
 Ήρακλειος **4000** 10  
 Ήρακλής **3997** 1, 44  
 Ήρās **3993** 43 **3997** 29  
 Ήρās: Heras alias Dionysius, strategus of the Saite nome **3973** 2, 6-7

- Ήρων **3997** 18  
 Ήρων: Aur. Protarchus alias Heron, strategus of the Oxyrhynchite **3978** 1-2  
 Ήρώσιος, former strategus of the Oxyrhynchite **3981** 7  
 Θαήσις **3993** 38  
 Θαήσις: Dionysia alias Thaeasis, m. of M. Aur. Theon, w. of Demetrius **3976** 3-4  
 Θαϊσιός **3994** 12  
 Θεοδόσιος **4005** 11?  
 Θεοδώρα **3998** 12  
 Θεόδωρος **4001** 26 **4002** 16 **4004** 2, 24 **4007** 13  
 Θεόδωρος: Aur. Theodoros *nomiarius*, f. of Aur. Anuphius *nomiarius*, s. of Megas alias Didymus **3985** 3, 4, 7 **3986** 14  
 Θεόδωρος: Aur. Theodoros *protodemotes*, s. of Maximus **3987** 10, [15]  
 Θεόδωρος, κόμης, μείζωντος **4006** 11, 12  
 Θεών: Aelius Theon **3992** 1, 34  
 Θεών: ... alias Theon **3976** 12  
 Θεών: Aur. Theon **3982** 23  
 Θεών: Aur. Theon alias Munatius, town councillor **3978** 3-4  
 Θεών, f. of Aur. Demetrius **3978** 6  
 Θεών, f. of Petosiris **3993** 27, 31  
 Θεών: M. Aur. Theon s. of Demetrius, m. Dionysia alias Thaeasis **3976** 2-4  
 Θηθός *see* Τιθός  
 Θώνις **3998** 1, 32, 33 (3 persons)  
 Θώνις, s. of Cephalas **3993** 45  
 Θώνις, s. of Plutarchus, f. of Thonis the elder *θεαγός* of Thoëris and of Thonis the younger deceased **3974** 4  
 Θώνις, s. of Thonis the elder, gd.-s. of Thonis, gt.-gd.-s. of Plutarchus, m. Talobais **3974** 9  
 Θώνις, s. of Thonis the younger deceased **3974** 13  
 Θώνις, the elder, *θεαγός* of Thoëris; s. of Thonis, gd.-s. of Plutarchus, m. Taysiris d. of Petalus; f. of Thonis; h. of Talobais; b. of Thonis the younger deceased **3974** 4  
 Θώνις, the younger, deceased, s. of Thonis, gd.-s. of Plutarchus, m. Taysiris; b. of Thonis the elder *θεαγός* of Thoëris; f. of Thonis **3974** 12  
 Ήρακλίων **3988** 1, 21  
 Ίούλιος **4007** 14  
 Ίσάκ: Aur. Isak, bleacher, s. of Johannes **3987** 14  
 Ίσασίας, stonecutter **4003** 17  
 Ίχυρίων **3991** 1, 32  
 Ίωάννης: Aur. Johannes s. of Patbos **3985** 2, 14  
 Ίωάννης, f. of Aur. Germanus **3985** 17  
 Ίωάννης, f. of Aur. Isak bleacher **3987** 14  
 Ίωάννης, ἰλλοστριος καὶ ἀντιγεοῦχος **4008** 6

- Κ. . . φης, d. of Psoenäus **3981** 3  
 Κάισαρ **3975** 11, 13 **3976** 7 **3978** 20 *see also* Index III s.v. Marcus and Verus, Gordian III, Decius  
 Καλλίνικος **3998** 1, 32 (2 persons?)  
 Κάλλιστος **3998** 32  
 Καλόκαιρος, h. of Alcis **3994** 1  
 Κάνωπος **4004** 1, 24  
 Κέρδων **3997** [1], 44  
 Κεφάλαιος, f. of Thonis **3993** 46  
 Κεφάλων, f. of Aur. Heracleides **3979** 5-6  
 Κλήμης, gd.-f. of Clemens, f. of Heracleides **3975** 4-5  
 Κλήμης, s. of Heracleides, gd.-s. of Clemens, m. Taharthonis **3975** 4  
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 Κοπρίς **3993** 1  
 Κορηήλιος **4002** 17  
 Κουίντος [3978 21] *see also* Index III s.v. Decius  
 Κρανός **3997** 14  
 Κύρα **4001** 2, 9 **4004** 15 (*bis*)  
 Κυριακός, ἐπίτροπος **4007** 14  
 Κύριλλα **4001** 15  
 Κύρος *see* Άππα Κύρος  
 Κωνσταντίνος *see* Index IV s.v. AD 312  
 Λεωνίδης **3979** 7  
 Λεωνίδης, s.(?) of Sinspansneus **3979** 1  
 Λυκίνιος *see* Index IV s.v. AD 312  
 Λυκαρίων, former gymnasiarch of Oxyrhynchus **3989** 1, 18  
 Μακαρία **4004** 3  
 Μαξέντιος **4000** 12  
 Μάξιμος, f. of Aur. Theodoros *protodemotes* **3987** 10  
 Μαρία **4005** 1  
 Μαρκανός *see* Index IV s.v. AD 473  
 Μάρκος [3975 12] **3976** 2, 7, 11 *see also* Θεών; Index III s.v.v. Marcus and Verus, Gordian III  
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 Μέγας: Megas alias Didymus, gd.-f. of Aur. Anuphius *nomiarius*, f. of Aur. Theodoros *nomiarius* **3985** 4 **3986** 15-16  
 Μέλας, *speculator* **4002** 5  
 Μέσσιος **3978** 20 *see also* Index III s.v. Decius  
 Μουνάτιος: Aur. Theon alias Munatius, town councillor **3978** 3-4  
 Ναθαναήλ **4004** 14  
 Νειλάς: Aur. Nilas s. of Sereus **3985** 2, 15  
 Νεχθεράεις: Aur. Nechtherois s. of Phthimius **3981** 24  
 Νιλάς *see* Νειλάς  
 Όνωρατιανός, ναύκληρος [3980 10]

- Ὀρέστης *see* Index IV s.v. AD 532?  
 Οὐαλερίος **4004** 9  
 Οὐαλέριος **3988** 5 (ουαλεριω acc.)  
 Οὐαλέριος Εὐθύθιος, *rationalis* **3980** 7  
 Οὐήρος *see* Index III s.v. Marcus and Verus  
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 Παθατήρ, f. of Aur. Harpasis comarch of Phobōu **3982** 2 (παθατήρος pap.) **3983** 3  
 Παμύθιος **4007** 3  
 Πανίκοσ **3996** 3  
 Πανοσβεύς, f. of Aur. Hatreus comarch of Posompoys **3983** 8  
 Πανόφιον, d. of Dioscorus **3984** 7  
 Πατρώς, f. of Aur. Johannes **3985** [2], 15  
 Πεκύσις: Aur. Pecysis s. of Pecysis **3983** 7  
 Πεκύσις, f. of Aur. Pecysis **3983** 7  
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 Πετοσίρις **3995** 1  
 Πετοσίρις, priest, s. of Theon **3993** 12-13, 26, 27  
 Πετράνιος *see* Index IV s.v. AD 314  
 Πλούταρχος **3995** 1  
 Πλούταρχος, f. of Thonis, gd.-f. of Thonis the elder *θεαγός* of Thoëris and of Thonis the younger deceased **3974** 4  
 Πλούταρχος, priest **3989** 18  
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 Πρώταρχος: Aur. Protarchus alias Heron, strategus of the Oxyrhynchite **3978** 1-2  
 Πτολεμαῖος **3990** 13 **3993** 43  
 Πτολεμαῖος: Flavius Ptolemaeus, *primiticerius quaestionarius*, s. of Phoebammon **3986** 7  
 Πτολεμαῖος, *μελλογυμνασάρχος* **3992** 25
- Ῥούφιος *see* Index IV s.v. AD 314
- Σαλιοῦς **4002** 9  
 Σαραπάμμων **3993** 1  
 Σαραπάς **3989** 6, 8  
 Σαραπάς **3991** 1, 32  
 Σαραπίδωρος, merchant **3992** 29  
 Σαραπίων: Aur. Sarapion alias Serenus, strategus of the Oxyrhynchite nome **3982** 1, 22 **3983** 2, [6], 11  
 Σαραπίων, cx-gymnasiarch, deputy strategus (**3975** 2)  
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 Σεβαστός **3979** 8, [21] **3981** 22 *see also* Index III s.v. Gallienus, IV s.v. AD 312, XIII (b) s.v. ἀργύριον Σεβαστοῦ νόμισματος  
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3986  
 Fragment of a papyrus scroll with several lines of handwritten Greek text. The text is partially obscured by damage and fading.

3977  
 Fragment of a papyrus scroll with several lines of handwritten Greek text. The text is partially obscured by damage and fading.

3984  
 Fragment of a papyrus scroll with several lines of handwritten Greek text. The text is partially obscured by damage and fading.

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